

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

A STUDY OF THE CONTROVERSY IN THE AMERICAN
BAPTIST CONVENTION OVER THE FUNCTION
AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH

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Anthony Campolo, Jr.

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Author:

Anthony Campele, Jr.

Read and Approved by:

Edgar L. Smith
Kermon H. Marston
J. Ernest Stupples

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George H. Hagan
(Dean of Graduate School)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The American Baptist Convention is a Protestant denomination with a conservative theological tradition. For the most part, its members have adhered to a basically Calvinistic theology which has undergone little change since the middle of the nineteenth century.¹

¹Surveys of the Calvinistic theology traditionally held by American Baptists can be found in the following works: O. C. S. Wallace, What Baptists Believe (Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1913), David P. Gaines, Beliefs of Baptists (New York: Richard R. Smith, Publisher, Inc., 1952), Brooks Hays and John E. Steely, The Baptist Way of Life (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), Hillyer H. Straton, Baptists: Their Message and Mission (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1941), Edward Dowey, "Calvinism," A Handbook of Christian Theology, (ed.), Marvin Halverson (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1960), pp. 40-3, defines Calvinism in this manner: "Calvinism is a designation, roughly equivalent to the terms Reformed or Presbyterian Christianity, which refers to the Protestant religious ethos that developed out of the sixteenth-century Reformation in Switzerland, Alsace, the Rhineland, France, Holland, Scotland, and England (puritanism). Decisive theological aspects of the tradition were defined in Zurich (Zwingli), Strasbourg (Bucer), and Basel (Oecolampad), before the Frenchman, John Calvin (1509-1564), had been converted to Protestantism. The comprehensive achievements of Calvin, however. . . make him, without question, the leading figure of the movement. . . . Orthodox or scholastic Calvinism of the late sixteenth and the seven-

From this theology Baptists have developed a structure for their churches which has enabled them to win converts to their beliefs. This structure has remained basically unaltered since its conception. However, certain socio-economic changes in the American Society have made it increasingly difficult for American Baptist churches to win converts and, since the turn of the century, their rate of growth has declined.

Some Baptist leaders believe that their churches must be restructured if they are to function effectively in modern society. Among these is Jitsuo Morikawa, the Executive Secretary of the Division of Evangelism of the

¹teenth centuries represents the absolutist and rationalist system-building spirit of the age. In addition to a form more reminiscent of medieval theology than of Calvin, this theology is chiefly characterized by the following: (1) It became a 'federal' theology, i.e., the theology of two covenants, whereby God's conditional Covenant of Works with Adam in Paradise ('deduced' from scripture) is contrasted with the demonstrably biblical Covenant of Grace as a rationale for explaining universal guilt and as a device for understanding human life under the norm of natural law in the created order. (2) Orthodoxy also was marked by disputes occasioned by a deterministic formulation of predestination. . . . (3) Total depravity (meaning that all aspects of human life are affected by sin), was the touchstone of an orthodox doctrine of sin and the correlate of covenant and predestinarian theology. Further systematic elements were: (4) a doctrine of irresistible grace and (5) the belief in the continuing role of the saints, . . . (6) 'limited' atonement was projected as a doctrine holding that Christ died for the elect rather than for all men." For a further explanation of the meaning of Calvinism see: John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954).

American Baptist Home Mission Societies. Since assuming this influential denominational post in 1956 he has suggested proposals which, if adopted, would alter significantly the traditional patterns of ministry for Baptist churches.

Morikawa's ideas for restructuring the church have met with bitter opposition from the more conservative members of his denomination. The controversy which his proposals have provoked is the greatest threat to the survival of the denomination since the Fundamentalist Controversy. This study will seek to examine this controversy surrounding the function and structure of the church in both theological and sociological perspectives and will attempt to evaluate the arguments and proposals. It will also outline the alternative courses of action which American Baptists might take as they seek to minister effectively to the requisite needs of the emerging urban industrial society.

Traditionally American Baptists have believed in the doctrine of penal-substitutionary atonement: viz, only those who believe the gospel and are converted by Christ enjoy the benefits of his salvation. Conversion is a mystical experience whereby the Holy Spirit enters into the life of a person, transforms his moral character, makes the believer sure he is saved, and thereafter directs his daily activities.

However, this work of the Holy Spirit depends upon hearing and understanding the gospel.²

These doctrines about salvation have supported American Baptists in their belief that the primary function of the church is to proclaim the gospel to the "unsaved." Consequently, Baptists have structured their churches for revivalistic preaching and visitation evangelism.³ American Baptists found this function and structure for the church to be highly successful for most of the nineteenth century. Their denomination grew in membership and it became a major religious body in America. Emphasizing "personal salvation," it seemed adapted to the stress on individualism which was characteristic of the agrarian society during this period.⁴

In the latter part of the nineteenth century America began to undergo vast social changes under the impact of the industrial revolution. Large urban centers came into existence and the philosophy of

²Wallace, What Baptists Believe, pp. 53-60.

³Straton, Baptists: Their Message and Mission, pp. 113-117; Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1952), pp. 65-6; 72f. Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention 1923 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1923), p. 412.

⁴Edward Starr, "American Baptist Convention," Baptist Advance (ed.), Davis Collier Woolley (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1964), pp. 29-61.

"rugged individualism" began to decline. Baptist churches found it increasingly difficult to function successfully in the new kind of society which was emerging. Revivalists drew diminishing crowds and visitation evangelism failed among the urban populace.⁵ Concomitantly, growth rates declined in American Baptist Churches.⁶

During the first half of the twentieth century the American Baptist Convention showed only slight increases in membership. Efforts to win converts through the usual evangelistic methods proved to be frustrating. Even a doubling of the efforts yielded little success.⁷

From approximately 1915 to 1920 some of the leaders of the social gospel movement, like Shailer Mathews and Walter Rauschenbusch assumed dominant roles in denominational leadership. These liberal theologians

⁵ Ronald E. Osborn, The Spirit of American Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 16-26; 61-76. A good historical account of the changes in religious practices brought about because of these social changes can be found in Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 162-95.

⁶ Edward D. Rapp and James A. Scott, American Baptists Today (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1957), pp. 30-35.

⁷ The Annual reports of the Department of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies printed in the annuals of the Northern Baptist Convention will substantiate this fact.

suggested that American Baptists confront the problem of ministering effectively to men who were a part of the new urban industrial society by fostering social reform and helping to create the kind of world which they believed was in accord with the will of God. While not rejecting the traditional function of converting men to Christianity, these social gospelers placed their primary emphasis on establishing the Kingdom of God on earth.⁸

The theologies of the social gospelers, along with their programs for transforming society met with adverse reactions from conservative American Baptists. As part of what has come to be known as the Fundamentalist Controversy,⁹ these reactions led to major de-

⁸ See Chapter IV.

⁹ Accounts of the developments within the American Baptist Convention during the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy are given in the following: Norman P. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 103-118; Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 65-97. Also see, Starr, "American Baptist Convention," pp. 59-61; 68-71. It should be noted that what is now the American Baptist Convention, until 1907, existed as a loosely knit association of city societies, state convention, publication and mission societies, and independent local churches. In 1907 these organizations formed the Northern Baptist Convention, which in 1950 changed its name to the American Baptist Convention. Both titles will be used in this study according to which is more appropriate in the context.

nominal schisms during the 1930's and 1940's. Hundreds of Baptist churches severed their denominational ties because their members stood opposed to the functions of the church and the theology which the liberal social gospelers proposed.¹⁰

In the years which followed World War I, conservative American Baptists struggled to gain control of the positions of power of their denomination. While unsuccessful in most of their efforts, they were able to influence the denomination to reaffirm the evangelistic methods of the nineteenth century. This reaffirmation of traditional forms of ministry did not improve matters. In fact, churches continued to experience membership declines. The continued failure of the traditional church structure led many denominational leaders to agree with the liberals who felt that there should be some changes in the ways in which the church was seeking to fulfill its mission.¹¹

When the office of Executive Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home

¹⁰See Chapter V.

¹¹This opinion was expressed by one of Morikawa's severest opponents, Paul C. Allen, editor of Crusader, at his office in Valley Forge, Pa., on June 22, 1965. Walter E. Woodbury's widow, Gladys Roberts Woodbury, during an interview conducted at her home in Tenafly, N. J. on February 6, 1966, said that by the time of his retirement her husband was also of this opinion.

Mission Societies was vacated by the retirement of Walter E. Woodbury, some thought that the time was ripe for appointing to this important office a man who would show American Baptists new methods for fulfilling their time honored function--the proclaiming of the gospel to non-Christians. This led to the appointment of Jitsuo Morikawa.¹²

Since assuming office, Morikawa has begun to suggest changes in the structure of the church (i.e., its modus operandi). What was not expected was that Morikawa would also recommend changes in the function of the church. He has taught that in the new emerging urban society the church should rethink its function. He has suggested that the church might be more effective if it did something other than try to win converts. This is more than his fellow American Baptists had expected of him. They had wanted new ways to perform the traditional function, but Morikawa has seemed to be attempting to restructure the church to serve some new functions: to help create a kind of social Utopia rather than to work for conversion of individuals. He has claimed that God is at work in the

¹²Annual Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies," Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention, 1956-57 (Valley Forge, Pa.; The American Baptist Publication Society, 1957), pp. 313-14.

world creating a new social order in which justice, righteousness, and love will prevail among men. He has said that the church should join God in his work in the world.¹³

To support these views Morikawa has taught a doctrine of salvation which, because it seems like universalism to his conservative critics, has been the source of much controversy. He has claimed that the salvation of God is for all men and is not conditional upon the faith of individuals. He has said that God is bringing the whole world under his lordship. If God's main purpose for the world is the creating of a new social order, and if men's salvation is not contingent upon their acceptance of the gospel, then it seems reasonable to suggest that the church should strive to change all of society and not only proclaim the gospel to individuals.¹⁴

Having come through the Fundamentalist Controversy, the leaders of the American Baptist Convention were aware of the impact of unorthodox ideas. Consequently, in the years following this controversy the leaders of the American Baptist Convention were ex-

¹³These statements will be developed and substantiated in the course of this study.

¹⁴Ibid.

tremely fearful of controversial viewpoints among denominational executives.¹⁵ However, Morikawa's proposals recreated the schismatic conditions and attitudes which existed during the Fundamentalist Controversy.¹⁶

Some denominational leaders, recognizing these possible effects of Morikawa's proposals and fearing what would happen to their denomination if they were allowed to circulate among the constituency, have tried to conceal his ideas. For example, there has been an obvious limitation of space granted to Morikawa's theology and program in the denomination's official periodicals, Crusader and Missions. Although the denomination made evangelism its major emphasis between 1959 and 1964,¹⁷ the ideas and activities of

¹⁵ Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 147-55.

¹⁶ "Spring Thaw for Baptists," Christianity Today, Vol. VII, No. 14 (April 12, 1963), p. 697.

¹⁷ For the purpose of celebrating 150 years of Baptist work organized on a national scale the American Baptist Convention joined with six other major Baptist bodies for a five year program of evangelism. Therefore, during the years of 1959 through 1964 evangelism was the primary emphasis in the activities of this denomination. For a complete account of the activities which occurred during this period see Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of the Baptist Jubilee Advance 1959-1964 (Valley Forge, Pa.: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1963), (mimeographed).

Jitsuo Morikawa and his associates have not received any extensive coverage in these publications since the first two years of this period. These limitations on publicity about Morikawa have been the result of attempts by the Division of Communications of the American Baptist Convention to keep the rank and file members of the denomination unaware of his views and thus to keep the controversy from spreading.¹⁸

Many of the executive secretaries of the various state conventions have voiced concern over the controversy developing out of Morikawa's proposals for restructuring the church. These men have had closer personal associations with leaders and members of local Baptist churches than the national executives have had. Therefore, they have been more aware of the dissension which Morikawa's proposals have been causing among the constituency. Some of them have also tried to prevent wide circulation of Morikawa's ideas. An associate of Morikawa reports:

¹⁸ This opinion was expressed by Paul L. Stagg, Director of Program Planning for the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, during an interview conducted at his office at Valley Forge, Pa., on May 10, 1965. (Stagg is a strong supporter of Morikawa's program.) A similar opinion was expressed by Haakon Knudsen, Director of Field Activities of the Division of World Mission Support of the American Baptist Convention, during an interview at his office at Valley Forge, Pa., on June 3, 1965. (Knudsen is an opponent of Morikawa's program.)

One of the state executives has refused to let the program literature get out to the pastors. He has the materials stored in an office closet. He says the churches of his state do not want what we are offering in our evangelism program, but the fact is, he has not even let the pastors see the materials so that they can make up their own minds.¹⁹

In spite of efforts to limit the propagation of Morikawa's ideas, his views were nevertheless circulated among the American Baptist constituency. His universalistic doctrine of salvation caused increasing controversy and fears of a denominational schism grew. These fears were exemplified by a Chicago pastor who said:

Signs indicate the pendulum may be swinging back to a biblical evangelism. But the universalist issue could bring about the biggest split our convention has ever suffered. We cannot afford another exodus like that of the Conservative Baptists.²⁰

The controversy reached a crescendo as a result of an address which Morikawa delivered to American Baptist seminary seniors at their 1962 Conference held in

¹⁹Interview with Stagg.

²⁰"A Spring Thaw for Baptists," p. 697. At a preconvention meeting of the American Baptist Convention in May 1947, the Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Northern Baptists organized the Conservative Baptist Association of America. This new denomination was joined by many churches which formerly were aligned with the American Baptist Convention. For further information see Robert G. Torbet, A History of Baptists (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), pp. 441-52.

Green Lake, Wisconsin. In this address Morikawa boldly outlined his views on universalism and forthrightly declared that the church should not be primarily concerned with the task of converting men to Christianity.²¹ Many of the students reacted to the address with strong disagreement. While at the conference, some of them even asked how Morikawa could be removed from his office. News of what had been said at the seniors' conference spread among Baptist leaders. For many of the leaders this was the evidence that proved to them that Morikawa either had to be silenced or removed from office.

Prior to the 1963 annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention the executive secretaries of the denomination's state conventions met with Morikawa at the Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Michigan. Many conservatives believed that at this meeting Morikawa would be asked to resign from his office.²² However, the denominational officials who attended the meeting were persuaded that removing Morikawa from office would greatly antagonize the liberal and moderate

²¹This address has since been published. Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 1 (November, 1963), pp. 2-3, 7. Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1964), pp. 2-3, 11.

²²"Spring Thaw for Baptists," pp. 696-7.

members of the denomination and would create more problems than it would solve. Consequently, they decided to allow Morikawa to remain in office.²³

An attempt by state executives to oust from office a national executive was unprecedented in the history of the American Baptist Convention. The consideration of such a move demonstrated the severity of the controversy Morikawa's ideas had caused. Since the Detroit meeting his proposals for restructuring the church and his theological justification of those ideas have perpetuated further antagonism within his denomination, and his ideas have continued to be met with strong opposition from its theologically conservative members. This continuing controversy in the American Baptist Convention over the function and structure of the church will be the subject of this study.

²³Interview with Allen.

The Thesis

In the midst of this continuing controversy, which is of crucial significance for American Baptists, there is need for analysis of Morikawa's theology and explanations of what he is trying to accomplish for his denomination through the propagation of his ideas. This paper proposes to help to meet these needs.

It will be argued that Morikawa's basic concern is not the formulation of a new doctrine of salvation for American Baptists, but rather the restructuring of the church to improve its "functional fit"²⁶ in the emerging urban society of the modern industrial world. We will

²⁶The expression "functional fit" is one of the few sociological terms which we will use in the course of this paper. In order to minimize confusion it would probably be best to define them at this early stage of the study. The terms we will use are taken from the dominant school of sociology in America, which is called sociological functionalism, or structural-functionalism. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (editors), Sociological Theory (New York: The Macmillan Press, 1964), p. 615., write: . . . "by no means all of the social scientists who have worked in this tradition are agreed upon the precise denotations or connotations of these terms. We might nevertheless suggest as a point of departure that 'structure' in their usage generally refers to a set of relatively stable and patterned relationships of social units (i.e., institutions, organizations, groups, traits, ideologies, etc.) while by 'function' they mean those consequences of any social activity which makes for the adoption or adjustment of a given structure or its component parts. In other words, 'structure' refers to a system with relatively enduring patterns and 'function' refers to the dynamic process within the structure." Sociological functionalists try to explain how each social unit is interrelated with

show that Morikawa believes that the rest of society has undergone a radical transformation under the impact of the industrial revolution and that he contends that the church must adopt new ways of functioning in this newly developed social situation if it is to serve the world and survive as an institution.

The paper will try to demonstrate that Morikawa developed his doctrine of salvation as part of his effort to bring about the structural changes which he believes essential for the church. It will also show that his doctrine of salvation serves his purpose because it calls into question an ideology which has been used to support the church's traditional structure. Even though

²⁶ other social units in a society. Coser and Rosenberg go on to explain: "Functionalism was brought into sociological thought by borrowing directly and by developing analogies for concepts in the biological sciences. Biology since the middle of the last century frequently referred to the 'structure' of an organism, meaning a relatively stable arrangement of relationships between the different cells, and referred to the consequences of the activity of the various organs in the life process of the organism as their 'function';" A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of the Function in Social Science," American Anthropologist, Vol. XXXVII (1937), p. 397, says: Such a view implies that a social system (the total structure of a society together with the totality of social usages, in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we may speak of as a functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated. Robert K. Merton. Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe,

most of the theological arguments among American Baptists have focused on his doctrine of salvation, this paper will attempt to show that this controversy is only a part of a larger controversy concerning the functional structure of the church. The larger problem is whether the church should be structured to convert people to Christianity or if, in the modern urban society, it should fulfill some other purposes.

This paper will endeavor to substantiate the thesis that Jitsuo Morikawa has been attempting to lead American Baptists to restructure their churches to function primarily as a means for the salvation of society. As a part of his endeavor he teaches a doctrine of sal-

²⁶Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 40-1; 462-76, says that a particular social unit may be considered dysfunctional if it fails to be harmoniously interrelated with the rest of the units of society. If on the other hand a particular social unit can be interrelated with the other units of its society so as to be internally consistent with them, we can say that such a social unit is functionally fit for its society. Merton says, "When the net balance of the aggregate of consequences of an existing social structure is clearly dysfunctional, there develops a strong insistent pressure for change--this will in due course lead to institutional breakdown and basic social change." Sociological functionalists are interested in how ideas function in social relationships. When a system of ideas functions in such a way as to justify or support a particular social structure they would claim that such a system of ideas is an ideology. An excellent review of the theory and methodology of sociological functionalism is the following work: Don Martindale, (ed.) Functionism in the Social Sciences (Philadelphia: The Academy of Political and Social Science, 1955).

vation which undermines the traditional structure and function of American Baptist Churches and provides a rationale for restructuring these churches to serve the purposes which he proposes. He suggests that the new structure be developed and implemented according to the methodology typical of sociological functionalists.

The Manner in Which the Study Will Proceed

The study will be divided into three parts. In Part I, Chapter II will be utilized to explain how the Calvinistic theology held by early Baptists led to the belief that the primary function of churches was to convert men to Christianity. A study will be made concerning how, in an effort to fulfill this purpose, Baptist churches were structured for revival meetings and visitation evangelism. Chapter III will be a survey of how the social and intellectual changes which accompanied the American Industrial Revolution seemingly rendered these church structures dysfunctional. Chapter IV will review how two denominational leaders, in an attempt to overcome this seeming dysfunctionism, endeavored to restructure Baptist churches so that they would foster social reform. This will be followed by Chapter V which will give an account of the conservative reactions to these efforts.

Part II of this study will be concentrated on the recent attempts which Jitsuo Morikawa has made to restructure church programs in such a way as to make them functionally fit for contemporary society. Chapter VI of Part II will explain the basis for Morikawa's conclusion that the traditional structure of the church is dysfunctional in the industrial urban society. Also this chapter will explore how Morikawa, utilizing the methodology of sociological functionalists, hopes to restructure churches in order that they might need modern social requisites. Chapter VII will present a resume of the doctrine of salvation espoused by Morikawa. It will attempt to explain how he uses this doctrine to undercut the traditional function and structure of the church and to justify his proposals. Chapter VIII will examine the functions which Morikawa believes the modern church should serve. Then, Chapter IX will examine the structure which he thinks can be employed to carry out these functions.

Part III will be used to evaluate Morikawa's thought and program and to propose possible means whereby American Baptist Churches might cope with their failure to experience significant membership growths. Chapter X will survey the criticisms which the conservative members of the denomination have leveled against Morikawa's suggestions, and seek to explain the theological

and social sources of these criticisms. Chapter XI will be one in which the sociological weaknesses of Morikawa's proposals will be studied. Finally, in the concluding chapter an alternative will be presented to Morikawa's claim that American Baptist Churches are dysfunctional. It will also give another possible explanation for the declining membership in these churches and suggest courses of action which might be taken to cope with this situation.

PART I

CHAPTER II

THE THEOLOGICAL RATIONALE AND THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES

Over the years of its existence the American Baptist Convention has developed a theology and a structure for its churches. For a long while both operated effectively and enabled American Baptists to fulfill what they believed to be the primary purpose of the church--the proclaiming of the gospel to non-Christians. However, during the first half of the twentieth century many American Baptist leaders were of the opinion that the traditional structure of the church had failed to fulfill its primary function and that some kind of change was needed. The desire for change led them to appoint Jitsuo Morikawa to the office of Executive Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. They hoped that he would propose some essential modifications in the structure of the church.

In order to grasp the significance of the proposals which Morikawa has made since his appointment it is necessary to understand something of the theology and functional structure of the churches with which he is deal-

ing. In this chapter, therefore, we will review this essential information.

The Theological Tradition of American Baptists

Prior to 1740 two distinct theological positions were evident among Baptists. There were those who followed Arminian doctrines and were called General Baptists.¹ Others, called Particular Baptists, were in the Calvinistic tradition.² However, the Particular Baptists were dominant and it was their theology which was incorporated into a confession of faith for the first organization of Baptist churches in America.³ Calvinistic theology has

¹Robert G. Torbett, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1955), p. 85, Arminianism is a theology which was developed by a group of early seventeenth century Dutchmen who came to be known as Remonstrants. The chief figure among them was Jacob Arminius, who, setting out to refute them, became convinced by them. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1953), p. 765, briefly summarizes their theology by stating: "Rejecting supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism, limited atonement (namely, the teaching that Christ died only for the elect), irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the elect, it held that Christ died for all men, that salvation is by faith alone, that those who believe are saved, that those who reject God's grace are lost, and that God does not elect particular individuals for either outcome."

²Ernest A. Payne, "The Fellowship of Believers" (London: The Carey Kingstate Press, LTD., 1952), p. 17.

³A. D. Gillette (ed.), Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association: 1717-1807 (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), pp. 60-3.

remained strong among American Baptists throughout the years so that it can be said today that the members of no other Christian body have remained so loyally Calvinistic in their essential beliefs.⁴

While Baptists have often expressed fear lest confessions usurp the authority of the Scriptures and solidify into creeds, they have probably made larger use of confessions than any other denomination.⁵ Their confessions of faith usually have been put to use at times when the denomination was being slandered and misrepresented by outsiders or when the denomination itself was having internal struggles which threatened schisms.⁶

As the Great Awakening reached its peak in the middle colonies of America, denominational differences tended to be minimized,⁷ and Arminian doctrines began to spread among Baptists.⁸ Fearing that their distinctive beliefs were being threatened, Baptists adopted a con-

⁴Payne, The Fellowship of Believers, p. 16.

⁵William L. Lumpkin, "Baptist Confessions of Faith," Baptist Advance (ed.) Davis Collier Wooley (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1964), p. 8.

⁶Lumpkin, "Baptist Confessions of Faith," p. 1, Edward T. Hiscox, The New Directory for Baptist Churches (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1962), p. 537.

⁷W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), pp. 141-2.

⁸Lumpkin, "Baptist Confessions of Faith," pp. 12-13.

fession of faith called the Philadelphia Confession. This confession, which was a modified form of the London Confession of the English Baptists, was highly Calvinistic in nature.⁹ It declared the doctrine of a "particular" atonement (that Christ died to save only the elect).¹⁰

Though the Philadelphia Confession contained a statement of the theology common among Baptists it was too long and theologically too abstruse for general circulation.¹¹ The most popular and enduring statement of faith for Baptists has been the New Hampshire Confession. Adopted in 1833 for the purpose of unifying opposition to the spread of Arminian doctrines in that state, it has served as a standard confession among American Baptists for more than a hundred years. It, like the Philadelphia Confession, was a synopsis of Calvinistic theology but it was the briefer of the two, and partly for that reason, was more generally used.¹² During the Fundamentalist-

⁹Hiscox, The New Directory for Baptist Churches, p. 537.

¹⁰Norman H. Maring and Winthrop S. Hudson, A Baptist Manual of Polity and Practice (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1963), p. 13.

¹¹This confession of faith was over 15,000 words long. A copy of it can be found in W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), pp. 1-30.

¹²Hiscox, The New Directory for Baptist Churches, p. 536.

Modernist Controversy the theologically conservative members of the Northern Baptist Convention tried to persuade the rest of their denomination to make the New Hampshire Confession its official creed. It is significant to note that they failed in their efforts, not because the other members of their denomination were out of agreement with the theology it contained, but because it was contrary to the historical tradition of Baptists to have any kind of an official creed.¹³ However, American Baptists have remained essentially Calvinistic up until the present. The results of Biblical criticism and modern theology have brought about little change in the doctrinal formulations of the rank and file members of the denomination.¹⁴

In our study it is important to examine the doctrine of salvation held by Calvinistic Baptists. In their theology salvation has been based on the forensic

¹³ Torbett, A History of the Baptists, pp. 445-52.

¹⁴ A recent survey of American Baptist ministers made by the Division of Higher Education of the American Baptist Convention indicates that nine out of 10 regard themselves conservative, i.e., adhering to the traditional Calvinistic theology of Baptists. J. Milton Yinger, Religion in the Struggle for Power (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1946), pp. 155-8, explains that ministers are generally more theologically liberal than the members of the congregation. If this is true then we can assume that the rank and file members of the American Baptist Convention are still basically conservative Calvinists.

or penal substitutionary theory of the atonement.¹⁵

John Mackintosh Shaw explains this theory of the atonement as follows:

According to this theory the atoning work of Christ consisted essentially in undergoing substitutionary or vicarious punishment for man's sin, taking the guilt of the sinner upon Himself and suffering in the sinner's room and stead; thus, in the words of the Westminster Divines of the seventeenth century, "satisfying Divine justice to reconcile us to God." In this transaction, as the guilt of the sinner is represented as imputed to Christ, so the righteousness of Christ is represented as imputed to the sinner, and because of Christ's imputed righteousness the sinner is acquitted or accounted righteous in the sight of God.¹⁶

However, in order to enjoy the benefits of Christ's salvation Baptists have generally believed that there was something that had to happen to men. That "something" was being converted. Conversion was brought about by men's hearing, understanding, and believing the gospel. Then they were to respond to its message with a grateful obedience that would lead them to act in their daily activities in accord with what they believed to be the will of God.¹⁷ If men rejected the gospel and refused—

¹⁵O.C.S.Wallace, What Baptists Believe (Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1913), pp. 53-60.

¹⁶John Mackintosh Shaw, Christian Doctrine: A One-Volume Outline of Christian Belief (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956), p. 187.

¹⁷Wallace, What Baptists Believe, pp. 63-71.

to gratefully obey the will of God they would be condemned to hell.¹⁸ The New Hampshire Confession states these ideas in this manner:

We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial penitent and obedient faith; and that nothing prevents the salvation of the greatest sinner on earth but his own inherent depravity and voluntary rejection of the gospel, which rejection involves him in aggravated condemnation.¹⁹

The salvation which was described in Baptist statements of faith was basically something to be fully enjoyed after death. While there was a belief that upon Christ's visible return to earth he would re-make this world according to his perfect plans, the Christian's primary concern was to be, not the current social order, but the preparation for heaven for himself and others. When the Social Gospel Movement began to develop within the Northern Baptist Convention, its conservative opponents conceded that the aims of the leaders of that movement were noble but should not be considered to be the primary concerns of the Church.²⁰ Baptists, for the

¹⁸David P. Gaines, Beliefs of Baptists (New York: Richard R. Smith, Publisher, Inc., 1952), pp. 130-1.

¹⁹Wallace, What Baptists Believe, p. 62.

²⁰Eldon Ernst, "The Baptist Jubilee Advance in Historical Context," Foundations, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January-March, 1966), pp. 6-11. Also see the annual reports of the Department of Evangelism of the American

most part, thought of salvation as being fully realized in a heaven beyond time and space.

The manner in which Baptists understand salvation has led them to believe that the primary function of the church is evangelism.²¹ By evangelism they mean "the proclamation of the good news of salvation through faith in Jesus. . . ."²² Baptists believe that the church basically exists to tell "the unsaved" the gospel in order that they "might be converted." Whatever else the church might happen to do, Baptists believe that the essential purpose of the church is evangelism.²³ Baptist churches were organized to carry out this evangelistic function. Their worship services, programs of Christian education, missionary work and other activities all tend to be structured "to give the gospel to people."²⁴ Because

²⁰ Baptist Home Mission Societies for the years 1922 and 1923. The reports are in the Annals of the Northern Baptist Convention which have been published by the American Baptist Publication Society in Philadelphia, Pa.

²¹ Brooks Hays and John E. Steely, The Baptist Way of Life (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 127.

²² Hillyer H. Straton, Baptists: Their Message and Mission (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1941), p. 113.

²³ Hays and Steely, The Baptist Way of Life, p. 127.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 128-153; Jitsuo Morikawa, "A Critique of the Baptist Jubilee Advance," Foundations, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January-March, 1966), pp. 38-9.

their two basic means of carrying out this essential purpose are revivalistic preaching and visitation evangelism, American Baptists have tried to structure their churches to carry on these two activities. Revivalistic preaching was adopted by Baptists during the Great Awakening and they have continued to use it with varying success.²⁵ They have sponsored "protracted meetings," "camp meetings," "revival meetings," etc., in which they have brought people together for the purpose of giving them the gospel. When, because of sociological changes in the American society, people seemed less inclined to attend such meetings American Baptists adopted a new method of proclaiming the gospel which came to be called "visitation evangelism." This method called for the organization of the laymen of the churches into visitation teams. These teams would then go throughout the community surrounding the church, visit in private homes and during these visits present the claims of the gospel.²⁶

²⁵W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists 1783-1830 (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 4.

²⁶See articles in The Baptist Home Mission Monthly, Vol. XXV, Nos. 6, 7, 10, 11 and Vol. XXX, No. 2 (June, July, October, November, 1903 and February, 1908).

The Historical Development of the Traditional
Structure of the Church in the
American Baptist Convention

Until the Great Awakening membership in Baptist churches was very small as compared with other American denominations. Their growth was slight and by 1740 only a few Baptist Churches could be found in the American colonies.²⁷ However, as Baptists began to adopt the revivalistic practices initiated during the Great Awakening they experienced noticeable membership gains.²⁸ When America experienced a second religious awakening in the 1780's the Baptists were ready to use revivalistic methods extensively and effectively.²⁹ By 1832, the year in which the American Baptist Home Mission Society was organized, revivalistic preaching was common among Baptists and it is not surprising to learn that the society adopted this method as its primary means for carrying out its evan-

²⁷ Hugh Wamble, "Baptists in America Before 1814," Baptist Advance, (ed.) Davis Collier Woolley (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1964), pp. 19ff, Henry C. Veeder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1952), pp. 287-307.

²⁸ Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier. . . . p. 4, says of the changes wrought in New England by the Great Awakening; "none reaped greater profit from the change than did the Baptists."

²⁹ In Massachusetts, for example, there were only eight Baptist churches in 1740, but there were 90 in 1790. See Gillette, (ed.) Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptists Association: 1707-1807.

gelistic function.³⁰

As the American Frontier expanded westward the Baptists moved with it, establishing churches in each new settlement.³¹ Continually revivalistic preaching led to growth in the denomination's membership. Baptists did not escape from the bizarre elements of the frontier revivalism. Often "holy" running, falling, rolling, jerking, dancing, laughing, shouting, and barking were part of the process of converting "sinners."³²

The year 1858 marked an exceptional outbreak of religious revival in America. It began unexpectedly in a noontime prayer meeting held in the Old Dutch Church on Fulton Street in New York City. Out of this meeting there developed an interest in prayer meetings and such meetings quickly sprang up in other churches and in other cities. Soon, across the nation laymen were gathering daily for noontime prayer meetings in

³⁰ American Baptist Home Mission Societies will be abbreviated A.B.H.M.S.

³¹ The movement of Baptists with the frontier is indicated by the date of the first Baptist Church in each new area: Tennessee (1779), Kentucky (1781), Ohio (1789), Illinois (1796), Indiana (1798), Mississippi (1798), Missouri (1805); see Wamble, "Baptists in America Before 1814," p. 20.

³² A description of these exercises can be found in the following work: Alice F. Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), pp. 35-42.

churches of all denominations.³³

A result of this revival was the program of visitation evangelism. Laymen expressed their concern for "the lost" by visiting from door to door in their respective neighborhoods, endeavoring to propagate their convictions.³⁴ This innovation became a common feature of the programs of Baptist churches, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century.³⁵ Regardless of the success of visitation evangelism, revivalistic preaching, for the rest of the nineteenth century, remained the dominant method whereby Baptists endeavored to win converts. When the A.B.H.M.S. had its fiftieth anniversary in 1882 its members confirmed revivalistic preaching by stating:

The great object of the American Baptist Home Mission Society is to promote the preaching of the Gospel in North America He has set the seal of His approval on the preaching of the Gospel as the preeminent agency for the evangelization of mankind.³⁶

³³ Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, Tenn: Abington Press, 1952), pp. 63-79.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 65-6, 72ff.

³⁵ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention 1923 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1923), p. 412.

³⁶ "Annual Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society," Baptist Home Missions in North America (New York: A.B.H.M.S., 1883), p. 9.

The "Ideal Type" Nineteenth Century
Baptist Church Member³⁷

The "ideal type" American Baptist of the nineteenth century found the structure of the church suggested by Calvinistic theology much to his liking. His character traits, common to most men of his culture, enabled him to make it function with maximum efficiency. Perhaps it is likely that he might not have adopted this structure had it not allowed him to function in ways which seemed natural to his personality type.

Among the characteristics of the "ideal type" American Baptist was activism. When confronted with a task or problem, he did not enter into intellectual discussions nor did he wait for some higher authority to make suggestions. His means to a successful solution to any problem was direct action.³⁸ He prided himself on his activity and addressed his efforts to problems "he

³⁷ Max Weber, Basic Concepts in Sociology, trans. by H. P. Secher (New York: The Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 52-5. William Petersen, Population (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), p. 180, says of the ideal types, "These are deliberate deviations from present empirical reality, abstractions formed by accentuating those elements that are relevant to a particular research purpose. They are ideal types in the sense of being mental constructs, logical expedients, tools to be used in the analysis of the real world."

³⁸ Ronald E. Osborn, The Spirit of American Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 9.

could do something about."³⁹ If success was not forthcoming, at first he simply tried harder. He believed that with a greater effort, more power, or the employment of more man power success would come.⁴⁰ To him the kingdom of God was something to be built and evangelism was something to be pursued; therefore it seemed a waste of time to theologize about these things.⁴¹ If his church failed to fulfill its mission, what was needed was more workers who would try harder and longer, and not theological re-examination of the traditional functional structure of the church.

His attitude to theological speculation or discussion demonstrated an anti-intellectual bias.⁴² He relegated such disciplines to the experts and concerned himself with "more practical matters." He wanted to

³⁹ Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 44-5.

⁴⁰ Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 7.

⁴¹ Osborn, p. 10.

⁴² Commager, p. 8, Pete Samstol, "From Prize Ring to Press Box," You Americans (ed.) B. P. Adams (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1939), p. 347 notes that the American has tended to have an "inferiority complex" in the intellectual disciplines. S. Gorley Putt, View From Atlantis (London: Constable Press, 1955), pp. 7f, claims that this complex had caused him to react with a "sour grapes" defence mechanism through which he ridicules and scoffs at intellectual disciplines as useless or impractical.

"get on with the work of the kingdom." His seminaries were "professional schools"--which simply means that they trained men to serve effectively within the institutional church with a minimum of intellectual preparation.⁴³ In the words of Peter Berger:

Theology, at best, then becomes a professional ideology very much in the same way as some sort of patriotism is necessary for the professional soldier as a rationalization of his activity.⁴⁴

His theology greatly stressed the urgency of "saving the lost," and he used this emphasis to justify his lack of intellectual reflection. He claimed that he was too busy doing the work of God to take the time out to define it theologically. Calvinism encouraged him to make evangelistic crusades his primary concern.

The "ideal type" American Baptist of the nineteenth century was also a pragmatist.⁴⁵ Success was the test of the validity of most things. It was therefore, no wonder that he was so delighted with the structure of the church, for as he employed it, he found that it

⁴³Berger, p. 45.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Bland Blanshard, "The Heritage of Idealism," Changing Patterns in American Civilization (ed.) Dixon Wecter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. 102, claims that pragmatism is the only truly American philosophy. A good survey of American pragmatism is The American Pragmatists, edited by Milton R. Konvitz and Gail Kennedy (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1964).

worked. He witnessed the conversion of thousands and the growth of new congregations. These were all the proofs that he needed.⁴⁶ Any suggestion for change from this success honored modus operandi met with such questions as: "Will it win converts?" "Will it build churches?" "Will it cause the membership of the church to grow?" "Will it persuade more people to attend church services?"

Individualism was another trait of this "ideal type." As an American he had been conditioned by the frontier. His experience as a pioneer in the new world had fostered individualism. Life in America required self-reliance, and he had learned to act accordingly. In religion, in politics, and in business he believed the individual to be all important.⁴⁷

In business and in politics his ethics were individualistic. He believed that it was the men who were a part of these institutions which sometimes made them evil, but he did not consider that the fault might lie in the structure of the institutions.⁴⁸ He had been

⁴⁶ Commager, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Osborn, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Edward A. Ross, Social Control (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), pp. 432-5, points out that the American law was equipped to deal with personal sins such as theft, embezzlement, assault, drunkenness, murder, etc., but did not sufficiently consider the corporate sins which were committed by the large social institutions of modern society.

raised on "the Protestant ethic" and had learned to use it to support and justify his social practices.⁴⁹ The individualism, encouraged by Calvinism, provided an ideological basis, not only for the functional structure of his churches, but of his entire political-economic order.⁵⁰ Individualistic capitalism was considered to

⁴⁹ Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), states that Protestantism set forth a rationalization of human life on a worldly scale; it gave an immense ethical value to a worldly vocation and calling; it made labor a religious discipline; it regarded an honest and earnest performance of a man's vocational work to be a sacred responsibility; it turned him from the "ascetic ideal" of Roman Catholicism to a belief that the ideal Christian was the man diligently working in a "worldly" vocation; it led him to believe that honest money making was a sinless activity. Weber goes on to demonstrate in this book that the characteristics of a good Protestant are similar to those of a capitalist. Hence, the Protestant finds agreement with capitalistic principles, and the capitalist can use the Protestant ethic as an ideology.

⁵⁰ H. Richard Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 98-101, points out that some of the ways in which Calvinism differed from the original theology of John Calvin were that the former system relaxed the authoritative plan of government and the social ethic of the latter. Niebuhr claims that the middle class business interests, which controlled sixteenth century Genevan Society, brought about these changes in order to substitute the authority of individual conscience for the collective authority of the church. In this way the middle class had their business activities delivered from the control of the church. However, his modification had the latent function of providing an impetus to the development of individualism. Niebuhr thus shows that Calvinism, much more than the theology of John Calvin, fostered a social structure with individualism as part of its ideology. Also see R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: The New American Library, 1963), pp. 164-209.

be ordained of God.⁵¹ Any attack on this theologically substantiated concept of individualism was regarded as an attack on the foundations of his society.

Calvinism had led the American Baptist to describe "the saved" as those who had individually made decisions to commit their lives to God. He believed that salvation was granted by God to those who had made personal decisions to accept it. He considered the church to be "a group of individual believers." The holistic implications of the description of the church as "the body of Christ" were foreign to his mind.⁵² He thought that the establishment of God's kingdom was not dependent on changes in the social structure, but, that it would result from the conversion of individuals.⁵³

⁵¹J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 218f., Commager, p. 162.

⁵²Don Martindale, "Limits of and Alternatives to Functionalism in Sociology," Functionalism in the Social Sciences (ed.) Don Martindale (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965), p. 150, defines holism as "the view that the basic social reality consists of interrelated wholes which are superior to the individual and his acts. One may, to be sure, analyze the place of the individual and his actions in the whole, but one cannot reduce the whole to the actions of the individual. Such wholes must be explained in their own terms. One cannot, of course, have a whole without parts, but the whole is prior to the parts in the sense that its operations are irreducible to these parts and their properties."

⁵³Walter Rauchenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912),

53 p. 5, describes the opposition he encountered as he tried to promote his program for social change. He says, "All our Christian intuitions assured us that this new call for social justice was of God, and the very spirit of our Master was urging us on. But the older brethren told us that the true function of the ministry was not to 'serve tables' but to save immortal souls A young missionary going to Africa to an early death implored me almost with tears to dismiss these social questions and give myself to 'Christian work' All our inherited ideas, all theological literature, all the practices of church life seemed to be against us." Rauschenbusch discovered that Americans believed that evil existed only in the hearts of men, and only men (not the social structure) had to be changed for God's kingdom to become a reality. Reinhold Niebuhr, Reflections on the End of an Era (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 108-9, writes, "The basic assumptions of an individualistic morality were in other words transmuted from socio-moral principles to religio-moral ideals."

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN BAPTISTS FACE THE DIFFICULTY OF ACCOMMODATING THEIR TRADITIONAL THEOLOGY AND FORMS OF MINISTRY TO THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The 1890's were years of radical social and intellectual change in America. Henry Steele Commager describes this period as "The Watershed of American History." He says:

As with all watersheds the topography is blurred but in the perspective of half a century the grand outlines emerge clearly. On the one side lies an America predominantly agricultural; concerned with domestic problems; conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries--an American on the whole self-confident, self-contained, self-reliant, and conscious of its unique character and of a unique destiny. On the other side lies the modern America, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in world economy and politics; troubled with problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social institutions, economy, and technology; and trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien.¹

Consequently, American Baptist Churches were con-

¹Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 41.

fronted with the necessity of accomodating their ministry to new and strange social situations. At first they tried to carry out their evangelism programs in traditional fashion, almost as though nothing were any different. However, they found it increasingly difficult to function successfully in the new social and intellectual milieu of twentieth century America. Some Baptists believed that the church would have to develop new forms of ministry if it was to relate effectively to the newly developing society.

Intellectual Changes Threatened Traditional Calvinistic Theology

Intellectual changes are obvious to even a casual student of the period. Within a little more than a decade America saw the publication of some of its most significant fruits of scholarship--"James' Psychology, Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class, Wine's Report on Crime and Pauperism, Turner's "Frontier in American History," Brook Adam's Law of Civilization and Decay, Bliss's Encyclopedia of Social Reform, Hall's Adolescence, Ostrogorski's Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Ward's Psychic Factors in Civilization, Wilson's The State, Mahan's Influence of Sea Power Upon History, Boas's Development of the Culture of Northwest America,

Dewey's The School and Society, Henry Adam's History of the United States, and Royce's The World and the Individual.² Each of these works contributed to the revolutionizing of American thought. The new ideas fostered the creation of an intellectual milieu which was unfamiliar to American Baptist church leaders.

Many of the new ideas posed a challenge to Baptist theology. William James, John Dewey and Lester Ward urged Americans to reject any ideas of social determinism and to realize that the future was in the control of men who, by their creative efforts, could establish an improved society.³ This doctrine of self-reliance ran counter to the Calvinistic belief in a sovereign God who determines the outcome of history.

Other attacks on the traditional Calvinism of American Baptists were neither as latent nor as subtle as that cited above. Biblical criticism, developed primarily in Germany, was beginning to make an impact upon the religious thinking of Americans. Karl H. Graf, Abraham Kuenen, Julius Wellhausen and others raised

² Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 48.

³ See: William James, A Pluralistic Universe (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909); John Dewey, The Quest for Certainty (New York: Minton, Balch and Co., 1929), Chapter X; Lester F. Ward, Dynamic Sociology (New York: Appleton and Company, 1911).

serious questions about the authorship of the Hexateuch.⁴ Some German scholars such as Ferdinand Christian Bauer and David Friederich Strauss attacked many of the traditional beliefs about the New Testament.⁵ They raised doubts concerning the miracle accounts of the New Testament and suggested that they be replaced by naturalistic explanations of the events. Questions were raised about the historicity of such occurrences as the virgin birth of Jesus, his resurrection from the dead and his ascension into heaven. These critics suggested that the factual story of Jesus had been distorted when recorded by the writers of the early church and that modern man had to get beyond the mythological creations of the church if he was to know the truth. They created the impression that modern men could have only a very limited and ambiguous knowledge of the life of Christ.⁶

⁴An interesting summary of the contributions that these men made to Biblical criticism can be found in Cuthbert A. Simpson, "The Growth of the Hexateuch," The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. I (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1952), pp. 185-200.

⁵Representative works of these men are Ferdinand Christian Bauer, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältniss zueinander Charakter und Ursprung (Tübingen, 1847); D. F. Strauss, The Life of Jesus Critically Examined, trans. from the fourth German edition by M. Evans (New York: Calvin Blanchard, 2 vols., 1860).

⁶Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1953), pp. 1127-8.

While this sort of Biblical criticism was common in Europe during the nineteenth century, it was not until the early twentieth century that it had any serious effect upon American Baptist thought and practice.

In addition to the Biblical critics, German theologians also presented challenges to the thinking of the traditionally Calvinistic Baptists. Friedrich Schleiermacher, one of the foremost theologians of nineteenth century Germany, rejected much of the rational systematic theologies of the Reformation leaders in favor of a "theology of feeling," making religion a largely subjective matter.⁷ Ernst Troeltsch challenged the belief that Christianity is a universally valid religion. He taught that Christianity, like any other religion, is relative to, and associated with, a particular culture. Because he thought it was linked to a civilization which might someday disappear, Troeltsch believed that Christianity might be left behind as cultural evolution takes place.⁸ Albrecht Ritschl, who also wrote during this period, reduced theology to little more than

⁷Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher, On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers, trans. by John Oman, Abridged, with an intro. by E. Graham Waring (New York: Ungar Press, 1955).

⁸Ernst Troeltsch, Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte (Tubingen: Mohr, 1902).

a system of moral values.⁹

Another menace to the theology of American Baptists came from England in the form of the theory of biological evolution. Theologically conservative Baptists believed that the Darwinian theory suggested that man was only a superior species of the animal kingdom. To them, biological evolution challenged man's position as a unique creation of God, endowed with full mental and spiritual capacities from the moment of his instantaneous creation.¹⁰ The Darwinian description of the gradual improvement of the human organism seemed to run counter to the Calvinistic dogma that man is a "fallen" creature. Darwin's ideas even inspired some thinkers to believe that the ultimate perfection of man would be the result of natural evolution rather than God's salvation.¹¹

The doctrine of evolution also had its impact on the interpretation of scripture. Baptists had tradi-

⁹ Albrecht Benjamin Ritschl, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, trans. and ed. by H. R. Mackintosh and A. B. Macaulay, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 1900).

¹⁰ Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1950), p. 442; Norman P. Funniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 3-34, claims that the fundamentalist movement was primarily an effort to resist the theological and possible social consequences of the doctrine of biological evolution.

¹¹ Torbet, A History of the Baptists, p. 442.

tionally believed that all scripture was a direct revelation from God and that all of its parts were equally valid. However, the concept of evolution led some interpreters to regard the Bible to be only the historical record of the religious development of a group of Israelites. These interpreters thought that a progressive understanding of God could be discerned in Scripture. This in turn led them to conclude that the later parts of Scripture give an improved and somewhat different understanding of God than do the earlier parts.¹²

Ideas which called into question such things as the sovereignty of God over history, the validity of the Bible, the objectivity of theology, the ultimacy of Christianity, and the understanding of the nature of man undercut Calvinism. The theology which had served as an ideology for the traditional function and structure of the church was losing its strength and although Baptists did not immediately reject their long standing beliefs, they were, in the words of George Santayana, "pleasantly bidding them good-bye."

¹²Henry Emerson Fosdick, The Modern Use of the Bible (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), pp. 1-31.

Social Changes Created Conditions in which
the Traditional Structure of American
Baptist Churches Seemed Dysfunctional

The effects of intellectual changes upon American Baptist churches were not as immediate as were the effects of the social transitions occurring during this period. Technological innovations which allowed the extensive use of steam power, the exploitation of coal, and the production of iron made possible the industrial revolution which, by the turn of the century, was well on its way to altering the social and cultural patterns of America.¹³

The industrial revolution gave rise to the industrial city which in turn was responsible for a vast displacement of the nation's population. While only twenty per cent of the population lived in urban centers by 1900, the trends of population migration clearly established the fact that the United States was becoming an urban nation. The new metropolitan centers spread their influence across the whole country and the agrarian style of life was being seriously challenged. Baptists, who had structured their churches to function in a rural

¹³ Lewis Mumford, The Culture of the Cities (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), gives an excellent description of the impact which the industrial revolution had upon the American society.

society, were suddenly confronted with the challenge of ministering to an increasingly urban America. This was a challenge for which they were ill prepared.¹⁴

The populations of the industrial cities were different qualitatively, as well as quantitatively, from that of the nineteenth century rural society. Of this new type of people Louis Wirth says:

The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent, or, at best, relatively weak. . . . Competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together. . . . The city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. . . . whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses on the other hand, the spontaneous self expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with an integrated society.¹⁵

People who were socialized into the new urban culture did not seem very receptive to the established evangelistic methods of the church. City dwellers often regarded personal evangelism as an intrusion on their cherished per-

¹⁴J. Milton Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 21.

¹⁵Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, No. 44, Vol. 1 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.

sonal privacy.¹⁶ It became increasingly difficult to attract the people of this new culture, with their varied alternatives for entertainment and their growing rationalistic way of life, to the spontaneous, emotional, revivalistic meetings of the church.¹⁷ In the drab social situations, which were often found in rural settings, revival meetings were exciting community events which were ritualistically supported by most people. But revival meetings gradually became a dysfunctional curiosity in the industrial cities where they had to compete with more "worldly" forms of excitement and entertainment.¹⁸

The new society which was emerging throughout America was populated with a people whose needs and problems were different from those who lived in any earlier era. Of this new society J. Milton Yinger says, "Illness and premature death, basic subsistence, lack of a position of minimum dignity--primordial problems that still

¹⁶Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 44-6.

¹⁷It is interesting to note that when William James made his classical study of The Varieties of Religious Experience in 1901 he had to turn from the main denominational churches to the sect groups in order to find examples of "the conversion experience."

¹⁸William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1950), pp. 220-31, gives a description of these revival meetings. Also see Ronald E. Osborn, The Spirit of American Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1958), pp. 90-3.

loom large for most of mankind and for the disprivileged in the wealthy societies--are pushed into the background of experience."¹⁹ He points out:

Life expectancy at birth in mid-eighteenth century was twenty-five years. . . . Half of the marriages reached their fifteenth anniversary. At fourteen years of age, the average child experienced the death of a parent. He was one of five children only half of whom lived to see their fifteenth birthday. Later, as the father of five children, he saw two or three die before his own death, at age fifty two. He had survived two or three famines, long periods of serious food shortage, and several epidemics that cut down 20 large numbers of persons in his community.

The new period was one in which life expectancy gradually increased. Death, when it did occur, was something which happened outside the home--usually in a hospital. The first hand experience of the death of a "loved one" was not nearly as common as it had been in the earlier eras of mankind.²¹ Poverty tended to disappear in the industrial urban society and by the twentieth century America was on its way to becoming the Affluent Society.²²

Concomitant with the industrial revolution there

¹⁹Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 65.

²⁰Ibid., p. 66.

²¹Jean Fourastie, "Three Comments on the Near Future of Mankind," Diogenes, No. 32 (Winter, 1960), pp. 1-16.

²²John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1965).

were produced ethical problems with which the ideal type nineteenth century American Baptist was unprepared to deal. The ethical patterns which he inherited with his Protestant tradition were not sufficient to guide behavior in the mass society which was coming into being. He was able to cope with those individual sins which were characteristic of the earlier way of life but he seemed incapable of even understanding the "social sins" which had evolved with "the great glittering cities."²³ The vast inequities in modern business, finance, politics, and journalism, the dominant types of wrong-doing in a huge, rich, highly complex industrial civilization, were almost beyond his comprehension.²⁴

E. A. Ross pointed out that "social sinning" lacked "the familiar tokens of guilt" for the man who had been socialized into a wholly individualistic ethical system.²⁵ Ross claimed that the child-beater was condemned but the exploiter of infant toil may have felt no guilt and even might have continued to be recognized as a pillar of society. The petty shoplifter was abhorred but the stealer of a franchise was at times even lauded.²⁶

²³ Edward A. Ross, Foundations of Sociology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), p. 364.

²⁴ Edward A. Ross, Sin and Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907), p. 16.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

In small groups offenders were singled out for chastisement but the change from small groups to mass society produced a network of impersonal human relationships in which the social control derived from public opinion was not operative.²⁷ The nineteenth century man was prepared to control the evil tendencies of a person but he had no idea of how to control the evil tendencies of a social institution. Individuals trained to condemn offences against a person were not necessarily trained to condemn offences against society.²⁸ American Baptist churches, like the churches of other protestant denominations, lacked the ability to be morally definitive in this new social situation.

In the earlier period the American Baptist churches had served lower class groups. Their simplistic forms of worship and their emotionally charged revivalistic programs had attracted "the working man" and had offered him a religious home. However, American Baptist churches offered little support or direction to help these lower classes fulfill their social aspirations.²⁹

The "socially disinherited" of America had come

²⁷ Ibid., Chapter III.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Walter Rauschebusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 92f.

to believe in "The American Dream" and were insisting that they not be denied the benefits of a prospering nation.³⁰

As they found themselves subject to the exploitation and dehumanizing productive processes which were part of the industrial society, they sought ways to achieve what they believed to be social justice. But Baptist churches, whose congregations had grown by means of the influx of working men into their memberships, remained silent on these social problems which loomed increasingly important for the lower class segment of the population. These churches called men to a personal piety but had little to say about social righteousness.³¹ Like other social institutions, the churches maintained a conservative disposition to the social structure,³² even though the members of working class groups were calling for social reform. They taught that the answer to the social evils of the world lay in simply winning men to Christ one by one. They were convinced that a

³⁰ Shailer Mathews, The Church and the Changing Social Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 126; Cf. Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, (1938), pp. 672-82, Bernard Rosenberg and David White (eds.), Mass Culture (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

³¹ Rauschebusch, Christianizing the Social Order, p. 41.

³² Cf. Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1946), pp. 58-63.

good society would be produced only by the means of traditional evangelism.³³

There is the claim that churches which fail to champion the cause for social justice on behalf of the lower classes will inevitably suffer by losing the support of such people.³⁴ Perhaps this is what happened to American Baptist churches. They once had the support of the working classes but in the years which followed the industrial revolution they have gradually lost it and have become churches for basically middle class groups.

The social changes of the era affected the prestige of the church and curtailed its once extensive authority. Social institutions were once intimately interrelated providing the conditions in which the influence of the church could be extended into every sector of society. All of society had been unified in such a way that the theology of the church governed the manner in which every social institution functioned. Men tended to live, work, play, etc., in the same community and the church stood dominant in the midst of it

³³Walter Rauschenbusch, (an editorial) For the Right (August, 1890). Quoted by Ernest Trice Thompson, Changing Emphases in American Preaching (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), p. 188.

³⁴Cf. E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), Chapter V.

all.³⁵

The industrial revolution and the rise of the complex modern society brought about the disintegration of this social solidarity. In the terminology of Ferdinand Tonnies, the transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft was almost complete.³⁶ In Gesellschaft social institutions tended to become separated from each other and, in spite of their interdependence, became worlds unto themselves. The life style of Gesellschaft was such that the average man carried on his economic pursuits in one sector of society, his recreational activities in another, his family life in another, etc. In this manner modern life became compartmentalized.³⁷

The Church found its influence increasingly limited to that sector which belonged to family life. It gradually lost its entree and influence in the business, industrial, educational, political, and artistic institutions and more and more had to content itself with the influence it could exert through its continued involve-

³⁵Cf. Georg Simmel, Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung (Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1923), pp. 403-53.

³⁶Ferdinand Tonnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (Berlin: Curtices, 1926), p. 22.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 42, 126, 148, 152, 157f. and 191.

ment in the residential sectors of society.³⁸ As suburban communities increasingly provided the "bedrooms" for Gesellschaft men the church moved out of the cities and relocated in the new "housing developments."³⁹ All protestant churches suffered from this transition and American Baptist Churches were no exception.

Another social change with which American Baptists had to cope was that created by what demographers have called the "new immigration."⁴⁰ Until about 1880 the bulk of immigration had come from western and northern Europe. The English, which comprised 61 per cent of the population at the time of the first United States census, kept its leadership in immigration up to this time. However, after 1880 there was a dramatic shift in the countries of origin of immigrants. The "new immigration" came predominantly from southern and eastern Europe.⁴¹

Unlike the "old immigrants," the "new immigrants"

³⁸ Jitsuo Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., February 20, 1962 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 3-4, (Mimeographed).

³⁹ Cf. Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 39-58.

⁴⁰ William Petersen, Population (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), pp. 91-101.

⁴¹ Ralph Thomlinson, Population Dynamics (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 244-5.

were not predominantly Protestant. Coming from "Catholic nations" they posed a significant threat to what E. Digby Baltzell has called "The Protestant Establishment."⁴²

The newcomers demonstrated unfamiliar folkways and mores and even their moral norms were set at variance with those already established as "American." Their use of Sunday did not fit in with the Puritan traditions pertaining to the Sabbath. Their approval of alcoholic beverages seemed sinful to teetotaling Protestants (especially Baptists) and their general demeanor seemed somewhat un-Christian to many of those socialized into "the Protestant Ethic."⁴³ Their new values and ethical standards raised the issue of ethical relativism. The single moral system which was supported by American Baptists, along with other Protestant denominations, was no longer unquestionably accepted by the entire society.⁴⁴ The Protestant churches were losing their role as the sole arbitrators on moral questions.

The Catholic faith which was generally espoused by those of the "new immigration" posed the greatest problem. Catholic power was beginning to challenge the

⁴²See E. Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment (New York: Random House, 1964).

⁴³Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1960), pp. 17-8, 32.

⁴⁴Ibid.

religious supremacy of Protestants. Because the "new immigration" took place simultaneously with the growth of the urban-industrial complex, the immigrants tended to settle in the cities rather than in rural areas.⁴⁵ The Protestant churches found themselves surrounded by Catholic populations. American Baptists, like other Protestant groups, had structured their churches for ministering to a homogeneous group of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.⁴⁶ They were not structured or "functionally fit" for these immigrants who seemed so strange to them. The newcomers were predominantly lower class people and it is unlikely that the now middle class Baptist churches could have made them "feel at home" even if the immigrants had entered into the worship and evangelism programs of these churches.⁴⁷ However, the "new immigrants" did not become a part of the life of American Baptist Churches or, for that matter, a part of any of the main protestant denominations. The revival meetings which had once drawn large crowds did not significantly attract the urban Catholic populations.⁴⁸ The success of visitation

⁴⁵ Petersen, Population, p. 98ff. This tended to heighten the growing antagonism which had existed between the rural society and the urban society.

⁴⁶ Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 21.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1923 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1923),

evangelism declined, probably due to the condescending attitudes which the middle class visitors evidenced toward these newcomers whom they sometimes referred to as "the underprivileged."⁴⁸ It was increasingly obvious that the traditional function and structure of American Baptist Churches were not viable among those of the "new immigration."

Even this abbreviated survey of the social changes which were transpiring in the early years of the twentieth century gives evidence that American Baptist churches were being thrust into a social environment which was unfamiliar to them. Their once rapidly growing membership rolls were no longer registering the significant number of additions which was so characteristic in the nineteenth century. Perhaps their old organizational structures had become dysfunctional. Some, convinced that this was the case, suggested that the church be restructured to fit the requisites of the new age.

⁴⁸ p. 412; Ronald E. Osborn, The Spirit of American Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1958), p. 17.

⁴⁹ Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

LIBERAL LEADERS ATTEMPT TO RESTRUCTURE AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES

There were some church leaders among American Baptists who tried to help their denomination to meet the social and intellectual challenges which confronted churches in the early part of the twentieth century. Among the more prominent of these leaders was Shailer Mathews.

Mathews was born to Baptist parents in Portland, Maine in 1863. His father and grandfather were orthodox Calvinistic preachers who encouraged him to heed the "call of God to the ministry." He was educated at Colby College and Newton Theological Institution (both Baptist schools) and later returned to both of these institutions as a teacher. He engaged in further studies at the University of Berlin and then in 1894 joined the faculty of the University of Chicago where he later served as dean of the divinity school.¹

The intellectual milieu of both the University of Berlin and the University of Chicago exercised sig-

¹See his autobiography, Shailer Mathews, New Faith for Old (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936).

nificant effects on his thinking. At Berlin he was given a first-hand introduction to the Biblical criticism which was so common in Germany at that time.² There also he was impressed by the philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel, which was still in vogue in Berlin.³

At the University of Chicago he shared in the intellectual atmosphere created by the outstanding sociologists who were his faculty colleagues.⁴ The concept of social evolution had some of its strongest proponents at that university,⁵ and this concept was unquestionably integrated into his theology. John Dewey, who, as a member

²Shailer Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), Chapter III.

³See Footnote 14.

⁴During the period in which Mathews taught at the University of Chicago there were on the faculty such men as William I. Thomas, George Herbert Mead, Robert Park, and A. W. Small; see, Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), pp. 13-14. The sociology faculty at the university was largely responsible for the publication of The American Journal of Sociology. Mathews wrote a series of articles for this publication; see Shailer Mathews, "Christian Sociology," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, July 1895-May 1896, pp. 69-78, 182-94, 359-80, 457-72, 604-17, 771-84; Vol. II, July 1896-May 1897, pp. 108-17, 274-87, 416-32. These articles were later incorporated into a book; see Shailer Mathews, The Social Teachings of Jesus (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900).

⁵Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr. and Gisela J. Hinkle, The Development of Modern Sociology (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 10, explain that those adhering to theories of social evolution believed that society, like the natural world, began in simplicity. As man evolved his social relations became more complex and man himself became increasingly rational. Eventually, the evolutionary

of the Chicago faculty, left a lasting mark upon all who were a part of that institution, also had a profound effect upon him.⁶ He came to share Dewey's belief that the future of a progressive society was determined by the kind of education which was provided for its children.⁷

Shailer Mathews was in the main stream of the advanced intellectual thought of his day and it was within this context that he tried to formulate his theology. His was an attempt to reconcile the gospel with the prevalent thought forms and social conditions of his day.

Mathews was a "modernist theologian" who believed that the church could not overlook the facts of science while formulating its theology. He saw little hope for the church if it propagated a theology which denied that

⁵ process would lead man to higher levels of life at which human happiness and freedom would find fullest expression. The Hinkles go on to state: "In part because it was congenial with Christian notions of utopia and the millennial hope, was consistent with the Darwinian theory of natural evolution, and supplied an explanation of the social upheavals resulting from urbanization and industrialization, the doctrine of progress became part of American Social thought. . . no sociologist in the formative era disputed the belief in social progress.

⁶ Kenneth Cauthen, The Impact of American Religious Liberalism (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 148.

⁷ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, pp. 141-7.

which science had already shown empirically to be true.⁸ His commitment to the findings of science led him to deny the belief that God ever interrupts the course of nature with miraculous deeds. He preferred to believe that God worked gradually and continuously in a "law abiding process" to achieve his goals. Mathews emphasized the doctrine of God's immanence in the world process and rejected the belief in a God who transcends the world and occasionally breaks into history in order to accomplish his will. For him, the miracles had to have naturalistic explanations because there was no such thing as supernaturalism.⁹

With the help of Biblical criticism, Mathews endeavored to understand the message of the Bible stripped of its myths and metaphysical trappings.¹⁰ He thought that, rather than accept the Biblical stories and doctrines directly, the church should endeavor to understand how these ideas functioned in the social situation in which they were stated and then to translate these ideas into forms which would enable them to perform the same function in the modern world.¹¹

⁸ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 66-69; Shailer Mathews, The Faith of Modernism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 115.

¹⁰ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, p. 51ff.

¹¹ Shailer Mathews, "Theology as Group Belief," Contemporary American Theology, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Round Table Press, 1933), p. 174.

Mathews believed that he had discovered the function which the New Testament doctrines was meant to serve. He believed that God was at work through an evolutionary process in nature and society to produce morally perfected personalities who could live in fraternity. He also believed that the New Testament writers were expressing for the people of their age how men could avail themselves of the help giving forces of their environment.¹² New Testament theology was simply one form of instruction to guide men in adjusting to the personality producing forces at work in their cosmic environment.

He believed that the intellectual structure for such guidance necessarily would change from age to age.¹³ According to Mathews each age had its own "social mind" which he says is "a more or less general community of conscious states, processes, ideas, interests and ambitions which to a greater or lesser degree repeats itself in the experience of individuals belonging to the group characterized by this community of consciousness."¹⁴

¹²Shailer Mathews, "Theology and the Social Mind," The Biblical World, Vol. XLVI (October, 1915), p. 204.

¹³Shailer Mathews, The Faith of Modernism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 12.

¹⁴Mathews, "Theology and the Social Mind," p. 204. The concept of the "social mind" reflects some similarity to that which Hegel describes as the Geist of a society, see G. W. F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of History, trans. by J. Sibree (London: George Bell and Sons, 1894), The Introduction. G. W. F. Hegel, Philosophy of Right, trans. by T. M. Knox (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 347-353.

He claimed that theological doctrines were the product of the dominant social mind of their age at work in the area of religious experiences and were by no means ultimate.¹⁵ Christianity in its doctrinal expression was believed to be but one phase of the general social history of western civilization and its doctrines were believed to be inextricably bound up with this larger cultural process.¹⁶ Mathews believed that the theologian was simply the representative of a social and religious group who sought to discover the perennially valid attitudes and convictions of the Scriptures and of religious tradition and to state these convictions in categories which would be relevant to contemporary experience and which would be in harmony with whatever else was known to be true (i.e., the "social mind.").¹⁷

Mathews believed that Jesus was significant because he showed mankind the nature of the perfected moral personality. However, Mathews did not believe that God was metaphysically present in Jesus. It was the personality, not the teaching of Jesus, which Mathews believed to be the core of the New Testament gospel. He claimed that Jesus was not supernatural but

¹⁵ Mathews, "Theology and the Social Mind," p. 204f.

¹⁶ Shailer Mathews, Atonement and the Social Process (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 11-12.

¹⁷ Mathews, "Theology as a Group Belief," pp. 186-7.

was simply an example of what man could be if adjusted to the personality producing forces of the cosmic environment.¹⁸

Mathews denied for the contemporary man the validity of the penal-substitutionary doctrine of the atonement, traditionally held by Calvinistic Baptists. Mathews believed that in the day of John Calvin the doctrine might have functioned to relate men to the personality producing forces of the cosmos, but that for modern man it served little purpose because of the changed social mind.¹⁹ He viewed sin as being the victory of the passions of the body inherited from the animals over the personality producing forces which were operative within man. To him sin was a reversion to a previous stage of human development.²⁰

On the other hand, Mathews believed that salvation was the victory of moral personality over the lower impulses of the body and the mechanism of physical environment.²¹ He believed that Jesus inspired man to achieve

¹⁸ Mathews, Atonement and the Social Process, pp. 164-65.

¹⁹ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, p.13.

²⁰ Shailer Mathews, The Gospel and Modern Man (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 20; Mathews, The Faith of Modernism, pp. 97-98; Mathews, Atonement and The Social Process, p. 195.

²¹ Shailer Mathews, Contributions of Science to Religion (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924), p. 413f.

this victory and that through this inspiration man had been moved to the goal of the evolutionary process. According to Mathews, salvation should not have been considered as being reconciliation with God or justification by faith. To him the "saved" person was an advancing spirit whose good intentions were strengthened by the influence of Jesus.²²

It is obvious that this theology rejected the ideology which supported the traditional function of American Baptist churches. Since, according to Mathews, men ultimately were not saved by faith in the penal-substitutionary work of Jesus and since theological doctrines were only expressions of their given "social minds," the church should not be structured to propagate the traditional dogmas of Christianity.

According to Mathews, the primary function of the church was to promote the development of moral personality by helping men to adjust to the personality-producing forces of the cosmos.²³ He claimed that this function could be accomplished by introducing people to the Christian way of living rather than to the Christian way of believing.²⁴ Basically, Mathews suggested that

²² Mathews, The Faith of Modernism, p. 91.

²³ Mathews, The Gospel and Modern Man, p. 179f; Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, p. 91.

²⁴ Mathews, The Faith of Modernism, p. 12.

the function of the church be fulfilled by encouraging men to love one another and to live in accord with the highest of moral ideals.²⁵ However, he did not claim that this necessitated that men accept Christian beliefs or join churches. He thought that the church was just one of the institutions, and Christianity was just one of the religions, through which God was working out His purposes.²⁶

Mathews thought evangelism, in its traditional forms of revival meetings and visitation programs, was not an effective way for the church to fulfill its function. He seriously doubted that the personalities of adults could be converted or altered once they had been formed.²⁷ Therefore, he thought that the church could best fulfill its function through an education program which would influence personalities while they were still in their formative stages of youth. Mathews advocated that the church concentrate upon developing its Christian education program through the Sunday School.²⁸ Because he believed that the best hope for fostering moral

²⁵ Mathews, The Faith of Modernism, p. 12.

²⁶ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, pp. 107-8.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 141-46.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 141.

personalities and a fraternal society rested in educating youth for Christian living, he wrote lesson articles and books for the Sunday School curriculum of the American Baptist Publication society.²⁹

The social dimensions of Mathews' thought must not be overlooked. He believed that moral personality could only be perfected when there was social unity.³⁰ He thought that the personality-producing forces of the cosmos were likewise fraternity-producing forces and he was convinced that personality was perfected only through loving social interaction.³¹ Accordingly, Mathews believed that each church should be committed to the task of socializing the neighborhood in which it was set to the virtues of Christian unity.³² He claimed that "eternal life" was life lived in fraternity and that it is when men are socially unified that they are "saved."³³

Mathews was aware that the new urban populations were growing increasingly unresponsive to the ministry

²⁹ See Shailer Mathews, Study Guide for the Gospel of Matthew (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1914). This was a study guide for helping Sunday School teachers.

³⁰ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, p.96.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 97-101.

³² Ibid., pp. 107-8.

³³ Ibid., p. 107.

of the church. His explanation of this development was that the church had been unconcerned with social and political discontent which had developed among the working class people who largely inhabited the inner city.³⁴ He claimed that the Protestant churches had become institutions perpetuating the social status quo rather than being instruments for improving society. He said:

The Protestant churches are composed almost exclusively of those who belong to or who are in sympathy with the capitalistic classes: employers, salaried persons, farmers, and those engaged in personal service of such persons, like cooks, housemaids, and coachmen. This fact and the far more discreditable one that church members have been too often notoriously indifferent to the need of applying the principles they profess to believe to industrial matters, have led the wage-earning class as a whole to regard the church as an institution allied with capitalism and the local church as a country club.³⁵

The corrective which Mathews proposed was that the church should try to influence public opinion to be favorable to social reform.³⁶ He believed that God was at work through the social reform movements of his day because

³⁴Ibid., pp. 120-6. Mathews believed that the church was unable to influence the "new immigrants" because they were largely Catholics and Jews who were prejudiced against the Protestant churches. Furthermore, the church has usually supported the social structures and institutions which have hindered the immigrants from fulfilling their hopes for social achievement; see Ibid., pp. 126, 139.

³⁵Ibid., p. 120.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 138-40, 148.

they were removing the injustices which barred the development of that fraternal society in which personality can be perfected.³⁷ However, Mathews contended that the church should not function as a political party or even directly involve itself in social movements. He thought that the function of the church simply was to influence public opinion, primarily through education, to be favorable to the progressive movements in society.³⁸ The church should stimulate, educate, "appeal to the religious instincts of men," but not identify itself with any particular social reform platform. Mathews states:

This does not make it necessary or desirable for a church to identify itself with any special political reform. This is not the function of a church, but of church members.³⁹

Concerning church members Mathews suggested that the church:

. . . train them to express the ideals of the gospel in Christian living, and under the guidance of God they will be able as individual citizens to devise wise means by which social institutions and economic conditions and political machinery shall so embody the Christian spirit as shall make a Christian society less a matter of rhetoric, and Christian living easier for all classes.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 108, 111, Shailer Mathews, The Spiritual Interpretation of History (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1916), pp. 210-20.

³⁸ Mathews, The Church and the Changing Order, p. 109.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

In short, Mathews believed that God was at work through the various institutions of society perfecting the culture of mankind so that men, possessing morally developed personalities, might live in fraternity. He thought that the function of the church was to aid this development by influencing individuals and, through them, public opinion to support the purposes of Divine Providence.

From the turn of the century until the outbreak of the World War I, Mathews had significant influence upon the life of his denomination. He served on denominational committees, wrote for denominational publications, helped produce the denominational Sunday School materials, helped to train pastors for Baptist churches and, most important, served as president of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1915. However, his theology became so radical to those in the mainstream of his denomination that a reaction against his way of thinking developed among the American Baptist Constituency. Conservative American Baptists organized Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago in 1913 so that ministerial students of that part of the country would have an opportunity to be educated in a conservative theological tradition rather than being subjected to the liberal ideas of Mathews and others at the Univer-

sity of Chicago Divinity School.⁴¹ Most Baptist ministerial students chose to be trained in this new school, thus limiting the influence of Mathews within American Baptist churches.

American Baptist churches, like all social institutions, were innately conservative in reference to function and structure. However, the wave of social conservatism which developed following World War I enhanced this stance and American Baptists came to affirm this traditional structural function of their churches with renewed dedication.⁴² On the other hand, Mathews himself tended to become increasingly liberal in his theological ideas. Under the influence of Eustace Haydon and E. S. Ames, his colleagues on the Chicago Divinity School faculty, he came to a position which might be regarded as "radical modernism."⁴³ This combination of factors moved Mathews out of the mainstream of American Baptist thought and practice and with this development there ended any possibility of his fostering change in the structure of Baptist churches or the functions which those churches served.

⁴¹ Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), p. 90.

⁴² Eldon Ernst, "The Baptist Jubilee Advance in Historical Context," Foundations, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January-March, 1966), pp. 6-11.

⁴³ See Cauthen, pp. 155ff.

Walter Rauschenbusch

Walter Rauschenbusch was another American Baptist leader who was aware of the dominant intellectual and social issues of his day. He was heir to a warm evangelical piety from his early family life. However, through his studies at the Evangelical Gymnasium of Gutersloh in Westphalia and at the University of Berlin he was introduced to the latest developments in German liberal theology. Out of these experiences he came to combine the mystical tendencies of Schleiermacher and the ethical tendencies of Ritschl with his deep German pietism. Rauschenbusch wanted to be a missionary with the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society but objections to some of his liberal views about the Old Testament prevented the society from appointing him to a post. Shut off from missionary service, Rauschenbusch accepted the pastorate of a small church in the West End of New York City. This church was situated on the edge of Hell's Kitchen, one of the city's notorious slums.⁴⁴ His experiences in this pastorate were largely responsible for shaping his social views and theology.

⁴⁴For biographical studies of Rauschenbusch see, Harry Emerson Fosdick, "An Introduction to the Life and Work of Walter Rauschenbusch," A Rauschenbusch Reader, compiled by Benson Y. Landis (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1957), pp. xiii-xxii, Doris R. Sharpe, Walter Rauschenbusch (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942).

He said:

My social view did not come from the church. It came from outside. It came through personal contact with poverty, and when I saw how men toiled all their life long, hard, toilsome lives, and at the end had almost nothing to show for it; how strong men begged for work and could not get it in hard times; how little children died--oh, the children's funerals! they gripped my heart--that was one of the things I always went away thinking about--why did the children have to die.⁴⁵

Rauschenbusch believed that because the church had refused to have a stake in alleviating these social problems, the working class people of the inner city had grown indifferent to it. He was convinced that, unless the church changed its structure and function, this indifference would change to hostility and antireligious bitterness.⁴⁶ He believed that the future of the church depended on its willingness to change.

Because the ideal type American Baptist was highly individualistic in his religious emphasis, sin and salvation were private concerns to be dealt with between the individual and God in preparation for the final judgement at death. Rauschenbusch claimed that such ideas were not broad enough to be faithful to the whole message of the Gospel. He believed that the full-

⁴⁵Walter Rauschenbusch, "Address at the Central Y.M.C.A., Cleveland," printed in the Association Monthly (January, 1913), p. 1.

⁴⁶Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), pp.332-41.

ness of salvation was not realized simply through individuals becoming converted to Christianity; social dimensions to the doctrine of salvation were also needed.⁴⁷

This he found in the social meaning of the concept of the Kingdom of God. He believed that this concept meant the reign of God in human affairs, "the social redemption of the entire human race,"⁴⁸ and the hope "for a divine social order established on earth."⁴⁹

When the Kingdom of God dominated our landscape the perspective of life shifted into a new alignment. I felt a new security in my social impulses. . . . It responded to all the old and all the new elements of my religious life. The saving of the lost, the teaching of the young, the pastoral care of the poor and frail, the quickening of starved intellects, the study of the Bible, church union, political reform, the reorganization of the industrial system, international peace--it was all covered by the one aim of the Reign of God on earth.⁵⁰

Rauschenbusch was not rejecting the importance of individual salvation, but was incorporating individual salvation in his vision of social salvation.⁵¹ As a

⁴⁷Walter Rauschenbusch, "The Railroads and the Press," For the Right (August, 1890), p. 2.

⁴⁸Walter Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 178.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 178-9.

⁵⁰Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 93-4.

⁵¹Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 5.

matter of fact, he believed that it was through converted individuals that the process of social regeneration could be brought about.⁵²

Along with the emphasis which Rauschenbusch placed on the role of the individual he nevertheless gave American Baptists an understanding of the corporate nature of sin and salvation which was somewhat new to their thinking. Like other theological liberals, he did not regard sin as a deliberate breaking of the fixed commandments of God. Instead, sin was the failure of man to attain his highest possibilities because of having yielded to the influence of his lower appetites and impulses.⁵³

Rauschenbusch went beyond this line of thought and affirmed a belief in a Kingdom of Evil. He claimed that, while sin originated "in the private order of the human self," it was organized into a superpersonal network. He realized that social groups exerted tremendous influence over the individual and he believed that if social groups were not Christianized they would condition the individual to be evil. He called the un-Christianized social system the "Kingdom of Evil."⁵⁴

⁵² Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, p. 460, Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 352.

⁵³ Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp. 46, 78-9.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 58.

He believed that the Kingdom of Evil could idealize evil practices and make them seem harmless or even necessary--that it tends to institutionalize evil and make evil part of the established social order.⁵⁵ He was convinced that men needed to be delivered not only from their personal shortcomings but from the super personal control of evil.

With such a conception of sin it is natural to expect that Rauschenbusch would understand salvation differently from more traditional American Baptists. To him salvation was viewed primarily as the moral perfection which, under the influence of Jesus, possibly might be realized in the individual and in society;⁵⁶ it begins simultaneously with the individual and his social group, because one could not be saved without the other.⁵⁷ The salvation of God was to be realized in the Kingdom of God and such a society required Christianized men and Christianized social institutions.

Rauschenbusch believed that Jesus played a cru-

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 99. It should be noted that Rauschenbusch probably borrowed this concept from Schleiermacher. See, Friederich Schleiermacher, The Christian Faith, trans. by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950), pp. 286-288.

⁵⁶ Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 117.

⁵⁷ Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, pp. 458-76.

cial role in establishing the Kingdom of God. To him, Jesus was a man who was uniquely conscious of the presence of God within him.⁵⁸ By the example and influence of Jesus other men in his day came to an awareness of the presence of God within themselves.⁵⁹ According to Rauschenbusch, the life and death of Jesus led these men to become a community of love and brotherhood. In this community, which we call the church, the reign of God was established and the Kingdom of God became evident.⁶⁰ This community, according to Rauschenbusch, reaches out to embrace all men and to bring all social institutions under the rule of God. Men are saved when they come under the influence of Jesus as this influence is carried on through history by the community of Christians.⁶¹

The penal-substitutionary doctrine of the atonement is discarded by Rauschenbusch. He felt that the forensic theories of the atonement tended to give notions of God which were barbaric. Such symbolic expressions of

⁵⁸ Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 48; Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp. 154-55.

⁵⁹ Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 154. Here again, the influence of Schleiermacher can be discerned, see Friedrich Schleiermacher, The Christian Faith, ed. and trans. by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1956), pp. 565-81.

⁶⁰ Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 129.

⁶¹ Ibid.

the atonement seem to emphasize the justice of God but, in so doing, distort the most important side of His character--love.⁶² The death of Christ was not to be considered primarily a means for delivering men from the punishment of hell. Rauschenbusch was inclined to disbelieve in the existence of hell,⁶³ and even considered belief in the after life unessential to religion.⁶⁴

According to Rauschenbusch, Jesus bore the consequences of public sins in his death. He says:

In so far as the personal sins of men have contributed to the existence of these public sins, he came into collision with the totality of evil in mankind. It requires no legal fiction of imputation to explain that 'he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities.'⁶⁵

He goes on to claim that the death of Jesus has objectively altered the relationship between God and man. Jesus has made men conscious of God, has inspired them to higher moral existence, and has led them into a

⁶²Rauschenbusch made these statements at the meeting of the Baptist Congress when it met in Augusta, Georgia on December 6, 1893. The full text of the remarks made by Rauschenbusch at that meeting are quoted in A Rauschenbusch Reader, compiled by Benson Y. Landis.

⁶³Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp. 232, 235.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 228.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 248.

brotherhood of love. Hence, the relationship between God and man has been changed "from antagonism to co-operative unity of will; not by a legal transaction, but by the presence of a new and decisive factor embodied in the racial life which affected its spiritual value and potency."⁶⁶ Rauschenbusch added that the death of Jesus affects men in that it revealed the power of sin in human existence, demonstrated the love of God and showed the power of prophetic suffering for the redemption of mankind in such a way as to inspire the followers of Jesus to carry on his work.⁶⁷

The traditional function of the church was not rejected by Rauschenbusch, even though he proposed a doctrine of salvation which differed from its usual ideology. The conversion of individuals was by no means rejected or neglected in his theology or in his hope for society. However, the purpose of converting men was not to deliver them from hell but to bring new servants into the work of building the Kingdom of God.⁶⁸ He states:

⁶⁶Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 265.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 257-8.

⁶⁸Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, pp. 465-6.

Create a ganglion of redeemed personalities in a commonwealth and all things are possible. . . . Here is one of the permanent functions of the Christian Church. It must enlist the will and the love of men and women for God, mark them with the cross of Christ, and send them out to finish up the work which Christ began.⁶⁹

Rauschenbusch believed that if the church was to fulfill the function of aiding the conversion of men it had to do so by leading them to a consciousness of the presence of God within their lives and by inspiring them to live according to the ideals of the Kingdom of God.⁷⁰ Conversion was not simply the result of introducing men to the doctrines of Christianity. He claimed that, since theological ideas were shaped by the historical context out of which they came, the church could not proclaim an undistorted gospel until the social situation in which they proclaimed their message had been Christianized.⁷¹ He felt that the social gospel was "God's predestined agent" for purifying the idea of God,⁷² and that unless society was Christianized all theological ideas would be adversely tainted by the

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 402.

⁷⁰Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 129.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 174.

⁷²Ibid., p. 177.

cultural milieu.⁷³ Such a situation required that if the church desires to fulfill the function of proclaiming the doctrines of Christianity it must also function as an agent of social reform so that the doctrines will not be distorted by prevailing social evils.⁷⁴

In addition to the traditional task of leading individuals into conversion experiences, Rauschenbusch broadened the understanding of the function of the church so that it included participation in establishing the new social order.⁷⁵ According to Rauschenbusch, most of the task had been accomplished already. The Democratic principle, which he believed to be the essential principle of the Kingdom of God,⁷⁶ was already on its way to becoming normative in the family, the school, the church, and the government.⁷⁷ He believed that although the character of these institutions left much to be desired the power of special privilege had been broken. Accordingly, he thought that the means of sanctifying these institutions

⁷³ Ibid., p. 176.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, pp. 464-5.

⁷⁶ Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp. 174-8.

⁷⁷ Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, p. 154f.

was available to men.⁷⁸

Rauschenbusch thought that only the economic institution remained untouched by Christian principles. He viewed capitalism as un-Christian because of its emphasis on laissez faire competition. Capitalism, he claimed, stimulated selfishness.⁷⁹ To remedy this condition Rauschenbusch frankly supported a Christianized socialistic economy, which he believed would develop cooperation, social solidarity, and good will among men. He believed that the church should function in such a way as to foster this new economic order.⁸⁰ Such a function, according to Rauschenbusch, requires that the church join in the battle for a better world. The church must emancipate itself from the dominating forces of the capitalistic society and refuse to compromise its message of social justice for opulent financial support.⁸¹ He claims that the church must function in a prophetic manner by preaching against the evils of society and by calling for social reforms which are in keeping with the ideals of the Kingdom of God.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 127.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 237.

⁸⁰ Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, pp. 127, 464-5.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 463-4.

⁸² Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 194.

It is important to emphasize that Rauschenbusch did not simply reject the traditional function of the church. While he gave some new interpretations to the meaning of salvation and broadened the understanding of the function of the church to include social action, he did not neglect the function of winning converts. The structure of the church did not have to be replaced, according to his line of thinking, so much as it had to be expanded to include social salvation.⁸³

Rauschenbusch made significant contributions to the life of Baptist Churches. As a pastor, a seminary professor, a member of denominational committees, and as a social reformer he had an impact on American Baptist thought and practice.⁸⁴ Prior to World War I he

⁸³The balance between personal and social salvation was a characteristic which was not evident in many adherents of the social gospel. The overemphasis on the remaking of society to the neglect of personal salvation has caused much reaction to the social gospel program. Rauschenbusch was not guilty of such an imbalance and that is probably the reason the conservative members of his denomination were willing to give him a fair hearing. See Cauthen, The Impact of American Religious Liberalism, p. 99; Fosdick, "An Interpretation of the Life and Work of Walter Rauschenbusch," p. XLX.

⁸⁴Rauschenbusch served for twenty years on the faculty of the Baptist Rochester Theological Seminary. This seminary has, through the years, supplied large numbers of graduates and denominational leaders for the American Baptist Convention. He also served as chairman of the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention from 1915 to 1917.

became head of the evangelism committee of the A.B.H.M.S. and in this office devised a program which would have made the social gospel a major emphasis of the denomination. This program was presented to the denomination at its 1917 convention.⁸⁵ It unmistakably bore the marks of the influence of Rauschenbusch. It stated:

The Church must interpret the gospel of the Kingdom to men in its fullness and breadth. According to the Christian Scriptures, men are to expect and seek a Kingdom of God on earth, the reign of God in men, over men, and through men. . . . The reign of God is as wide as the world and the will of God covers all of life.⁸⁶

The committee's program went on to explain that it believed the function of the church to be:

. . .to permeate all life with the spirit of Christ and thus to Christianize the social order. The ideal of Christ is both personal and social; it is the redeemed life in a redeemed society. . . . The men of good will are to be salt in their communities. . . . They are to do the will of God in all the relations of life, and transform all the institutions of society --as the family, the church, the community, the state, the industrial order--by the gospel of Christ.⁸⁷

The program suggested that American Baptists support the

⁸⁵ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention 1917 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1917), pp. 294-300(18).

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 294.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 300(4).

nationalization of industry and business. Such action would support the kind of socialistic economy which Rauschenbusch had sought.⁸⁸ Surprisingly, the convention accepted the committee's program and voted it their approval.⁸⁹ It is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened in the American Baptist Convention if World War I had not caused a postponement to implementation of this program.

The World War greatly hurt the prestige which Rauschenbusch had enjoyed in Baptist circles. He refused to join with those who were bitterly condemning Germany and his silence was taken by many to mean that he supported the German aims. Some, who had been his friends, considered him disloyal.⁹⁰

The war also dashed the hopes of many of the overly optimistic social gospel adherents who had previously thought that the Kingdom of God was a possibility in their time.⁹¹ Their disillusionment resulted in a

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 298-9.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 301.

⁹⁰ Ernest Trice Thompson, Changing Emphases in American Preaching (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 218-20.

⁹¹ John Bennett, "The Social Interpretation of Christianity," The Church Through Half a Century, ed. Samuel McCrea Cavert and Henry Pitney Van Dusen (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 119. Rauschenbusch was not subject to the overly optimistic social expectations which were common among many adherents

loss of support for the ideals of Rauschenbusch.

In the conservative post-war era the vision of the social gospel was lost. Affirming the traditional role of churches and denying the validity of other functions, the Department of Evangelism gave the following warning in its 1922 report:

Now when evangelism is being so intensely reconsidered, when it is being emphasized in its relation to special classes and is spoken of as social evangelism, industrial evangelism, rural evangelism, there is danger of confusion. . . . Not every phase of Christian activity is evangelism.⁹²

The report went on to recall American Baptists from social gospel ideas and urged them to support the traditional structure and function of Baptist churches. No mention was made of the program which Rauschenbusch's committee had previously outlined. For all intents and purposes those proposals lay dead and buried in the massive collection of denominational reports.

Mathews and Rauschenbusch had entertained hopes for restructuring the church to fulfill new social functions, but their hopes did not materialize. What must

⁹¹of social gospel. He was too aware of the depth and power of evil to believe that the Kingdom of God would be established in the near future. According to him, the social ideals of the Kingdom of God could only be realized beyond history. See Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, p. 227.

⁹²Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1922, p. 68.

have made defeat even more frustrating to these men was the fact that they were just on the verge of bringing their denomination into new patterns of theology and ministry when the conservative reaction thwarted their aspirations. With Mathews as President of the denomination and Ruschenbusch controlling the powerful committees of evangelism and social service, it seemed as though they would have been able to significantly influence changes in the American Baptist churches. Yet at a time when success seemed so near the War broke out and, as with most wars, a period of social conservatism followed. Among American Baptists the conservative spirit was reflected in the rapid growth of fundamentalism. This movement forced the denomination back to traditional Calvinistic theology and its concomitant structure and function for the churches.⁹³

⁹³ A survey of the Annals of the Northern Baptist Convention between 1915 and 1920 will clearly indicate the authority and power which Mathews and Rauschenbusch were able to exercise in the program of their denomination. See Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention-1916, pp. 21-25; Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, pp. 265, 300-10; 300-49; 300-43-4. Another outstanding American Baptist liberal of the period was Harry Emerson Fosdick. However, Fosdick, unlike Mathews and Rauschenbusch, did not hold a high office in the Northern Baptist Convention. Though he was an important Baptist preacher, he did not directly influence the policy or program of his denomination.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE LIBERALS

Opposition to the suggestions of the American Baptist liberals for restructuring the church came to be expressed as part of a larger movement of reaction called fundamentalism.¹ Hence, it becomes necessary to trace the development of this movement, to survey its theologies, and to understand the functions and structures which its theologies suggest for the church.

The Organization of Fundamentalism

By the late nineteenth century those who were anxious to preserve the traditional theology of the

¹Louis Casper, The Fundamentalist Movement (Paris: Mouton and Co., 1963), p.13, says "Historically, fundamentalism may be defined as that 'movement which arose in opposition to liberalism, reemphasizing the inerrancy of the Scriptures, separation and Biblical miracles, especially the Virgin Birth, the physical Resurrection of Christ and the Substitutionary Atonement.' In this respect, therefore, it represents a conservative reaction against the teachings of the modernists who declared the historic Protestant theology was incompatible with modern scientific discoveries and religious knowledge." In this definition Casper quotes the magazine editorial, "Is Evangelical Theology Changing?" Christian Life, March, 1956, p. 18.

the Reformation against the ideas of Biblical criticism and the new "German theologies" began to organize for a theological battle which has not yet ended.² First they created the Bible and Prophetic Conferences which served as rallying centers for the conservative elements of Protestantism.³

The Prophetic conferences, which were convocations held in various churches in various cities, were called sporadically for the purpose of reinforcing the "old-time religion" while giving to it an extreme premillennial adventist emphasis. The Bible conferences were more highly organized and met at regular intervals in places which had grounds specifically developed to accommodate them. The most famous of these conference grounds were established at Niagara, New York, Winona Lake, Wisconsin and Denver, Colorado. The Bible conferences also were dedicated to the maintenance of traditional theological ideas.⁴

In 1895 the Niagara conference put forth a famous five-point statement of doctrine which they considered essential to Christianity. The points were: (1) the inerrancy of the Scriptures, (2) the virgin birth,

²Ibid., p. 12.

³See, Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 31-5.

⁴Ibid.

(3) the deity of Jesus Christ, (4) the substitutionary atonement, and (5) the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ and His bodily return.⁵ The Niagara statement later provided the framework for a series of essays which were compiled into twelve books entitled, The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth.⁶ Two wealthy Los Angeles businessmen provided funds so that these books could be published and distributed without charge to almost everyone in America who was involved in the work of the institutional churches.⁷ These books became the classical statement of the theology of fundamentalists.⁸

Denominational colleges and theological seminaries were of great concern to fundamentalistic Christians because such schools increasingly came under the influence of liberal theological ideas. Fundamentalists first tried to pressure these schools into adhering to

⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁶ See The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., n.d.), Vols. 1-12.

⁷ Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, pp. 53-5. Almost three million copies of the twelve volumes were put into circulation.

⁸ See, Gabriel Hebert, Fundamentalism and the Church (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), Chapter II. Because of many negative connotations which have come to be connected with the term "fundamentalist," many of this theological persuasion have chosen to call themselves "evangelicals" or "conservatives."

their theology and, when this proved unsuccessful, they began to direct their energies to founding new schools specifically dedicated to teaching their doctrines. While largely ineffective in the former venture, they were successful in establishing several fundamentalistic seminaries⁹ along with scores of Bible Institutes.¹⁰ Moody Bible Institute, which had been founded in the 1880's, became the model for the many Bible Institutes which were organized across the nation during the next half century.¹¹

There has been a latent fundamentalism which has dominated the thinking of most of the religious populace in America,¹² but among Baptists fundamentalism has

⁹Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, p. 94. Within the American Baptist Convention the fundamentalists established Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago and Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.

¹⁰Gasper, The Fundamentalist Movement, p. 12, says "Since the 1880's more than one hundred sixty Bible schools enrolling over 25,000 students annually were founded in every section of the country. . . ." Hugh Hartshone and Milton C. Froyd, Theological Education in the Northern Baptist Convention (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1945), p. 103, states that 21.6% of American Baptist pastors have had a Bible Institute training as compared with 38.3% who had been trained in Baptist Seminaries. This study was made after large numbers of Bible Institute trained pastors had withdrawn from the denomination because of its alleged liberal theology.

¹¹Gasper, The Fundamentalist Movement, p. 12.

¹²Ibid., p. 2.

found its most open and loyal supporters.¹³ Perhaps this has been because Baptists have tended to be concentrated in the lower socio-economic segments of society among which, according to some sociologists, fundamentalism has its greatest appeal.¹⁴ Or, maybe this has been due to the fact that American Baptists have generally reflected a rural conservatism which opposes all threats to the traditional society and its thought patterns.¹⁵ Another possible explanation might be that the ideal type American Baptist in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century has found the intellectualism of liberalism unattractive. Whatever the reasons, Baptists were the most fundamentalistic of all Protestants. With their theology being reinforced by Bible conferences, and provided with leadership from the Bible institutes, at which many of their ministers were trained,¹⁶ American Baptists became the Protestants

¹³ Ibid., pp. 16-8.

¹⁴ J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 275, Albert J. Mayer and Harry Sharp, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVII (April, 1962), pp. 218-27, gives evidence that Baptists are low on the socio-economic scale.

¹⁵ Harvey Everett and Isaac Igaraski, "Meet Your American Baptist Neighbors," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 3, (March, 1961), p. 5.

¹⁶ Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, p. 82 says, "There has always been a large conservative constituency among Northern Baptists. By reason of low standards of

most prone to defend the traditional function of the church along with the ideology which justified its existence. It is not surprising to learn that they organized opposition sufficient to bring about the rejection of the new structures and functions which Mathews and Rauschenbusch had suggested for their churches.

The Theologies of Fundamentalism and the
Structural Functions Which
They Suggest for the Church

A close examination of Baptist fundamentalism will reveal that the movement had two variants of its essential theology. On the one hand, there were those who, like Augustus H. Strong, espoused a restatement of Calvinism.¹⁷ These men generally had been trained in the newly founded conservative seminaries.¹⁸ On the other hand, there were those who, like C. I. Scofield,¹⁹ es-

¹⁶ ordination, men anxious to preach the good news may resort to short-cut courses of Bible schools, and enter the ministry to spread their sectional gospel."

¹⁷ Augustus H. Strong, Systematic Theology (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1907), 3 Vols.

¹⁸ The theological system of Strong was taught at most conservative Baptist seminaries. See, Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 1262.

¹⁹ See, C. I. Scofield, Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, Inc., n.d.), C. I. Scofield, Scofield Reference Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957).

poused the dispensationalist theology of J. N. Darby.²⁰ These men were generally those who had been trained in the Bible institutes.²¹ It is important to note this difference because the traditional Calvinistic fundamentalists reacted differently to the suggestions for restructuring the church than did the dispensationalist fundamentalists. The differences in their reactions were the result of differences in their theologies. While alike in many ways, the theologies varied significantly in such areas as eschatology. The resulting theologies served as the bases for two distinct concepts of the church. Perhaps the only factor which fostered cooperation between these two groups was their common opposition to the suggestions of the liberal theologians.

From 1872 to 1912 Augustus H. Strong served as professor of Biblical theology and President of Rochester Theological Seminary. In 1886 Strong published his Systematic Theology which was later expanded into a

²⁰ John Nelson Darby, The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby, ed. by William Kelly (London: G. Morrish, 1867-83), 32 Vols. The followers of the theology of Darby came to be called "dispensationalists because they believed that Biblical history was divided into seven eras known as dispensations."

²¹ See, Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, p. 44. A survey of the catalogues of most Bible institutes (i.e., Moody Bible Institute), will show that the teaching of dispensationalist theology was part of their programs of study.

three volume work.²² This scholarly formulation of theology stood in agreement with the six basic points of fundamentalism and, thus, became the standard text of many fundamentalistic American Baptist ministers.²³

The doctrine of salvation which Strong expounded was simply a reaffirmation of that which was outlined in the traditional Calvinistic theology of Baptists. It was constructed on the basis of the penal-substitutionary theory of the atonement.²⁴ Men were saved if they believed the good news of what Christ had done for them, and were willing to commit their lives to Christ out of gratitude for His sacrifice on their behalf.²⁵ This traditional doctrine of salvation led Strong to reaffirm the traditional function of the church--which was the evangelization of non-Christians.²⁶ However, Strong gave an emphasis to the social meaning of salvation which, if not ignored, was certainly neglected by many

²² Strong, Systematic Theology, 3 Vols.

²³ See, Dumas Malone (ed.), Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), Vol. XVIII, pp. 142-3. It is interesting to note that Strong was president of Rochester Theological Seminary during part of the period in which Rauschenbusch served on the faculty of that school.

²⁴ Strong, Systematic Theology, Vol. III, pp. 954-9.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 864-81.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 899-900.

earlier Baptist churchmen.²⁷ He, like Rauschenbusch, believed that God was seeking to act through men to establish His Kingdom upon earth.²⁸ Strong believed that as men heard the gospel and became Christians they would, as individuals, affect the social structure so as to bring about its transformation. He said:

Through the preaching of the gospel in all the world, the Kingdom of Christ is steadily to enlarge its boundaries, until Jews and Gentiles alike become possessed of its blessings, and a millennial period is introduced in which Christianity generally prevails throughout the earth.²⁹

The eschatology of Strong gave encouragement to Church members who believed that their ministry to the world should include transforming society according to the will of God. He opposed the premillennialists belief that society would gradually decline and become

²⁷ Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1952), pp. 78 ff., suggests that the revivalists of the mid-nineteenth century called unconverted men to become Christians and Christian men to try to change society into the Kingdom of God. However, Smith offers little evidence to demonstrate that American Baptists were significantly affected by the social ideas of this movement. Although one Baptist periodical, The Watchman and Reflector, gave some support to the idea that Christians should act as agents of social improvement (see The Watchman and Reflector, March 26, 1857), it was not until some thirty years later that this concept began to have a significant affect upon the mainstream of Baptist thought and practice.

²⁸ Strong, Systematic Theology, Vol. III, p. 1008.

²⁹ Ibid.

increasingly wicked until the second coming of Christ.³⁰

He said:

This view not only contradicts such passages as Dan. 2:34, 35, and Mat. 13:31, 32, but it begets a passive and hopeless endurance of evil, whereas the Scriptures enjoin a constant and aggressive warfare against it, upon the very ground that God's power shall assure the Church a gradual but constant progress in the face of it, even to the end.³¹

Strong taught that the church, working through its individual members, could improve society, but he also warned against Utopian expectations. Along with the "enlargement of the boundaries of the Kingdom of Christ" he claimed, "There will be a corresponding development of evil. . . ."³² Strong went on to explain:

It has been objected that a simultaneous growth both of evil and of good is inconceivable, and that progress of the divine Kingdom implies a diminution in the power of the adversary. Only a slight reflection however convinces us that, as the population of the world is always increasing, evil men may increase in numbers, even though there is increase in the numbers of the good.³³

³⁰Ibid., p. 1012. An example of the premillennialist position which Strong condemns can be found in Lehman Strauss, God's Plan for the Future (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1965), pp. 17-33.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 1008.

³³Ibid., p. 1009. It is interesting to note the sociological elementarism reflected in this statement. Strong seems to lack any traces of holistic social thought or concepts of social change. It is also interesting to recognize the similarity between the

He believed that this parallel social development of good and evil "shall continue until the millennium, during which evil, in the person of its chief, shall be temporarily restrained."³⁴ He said:

At the close of this millennial period, evil will again be permitted to exert its utmost power in a final conflict with righteousness; this spiritual struggle, moreover, will be accompanied and symbolized by political convulsions, and by fearful indications of desolation in the natural world.³⁵

According to Strong, the second coming of Christ would then occur.³⁶

The implication of this eschatology is that the church should function not only to preach the gospel but also to improve society. In spite of the many theological differences which existed between the conservative Strong and the liberal Rauschenbusch (i.e., their doctrines of the atonement) there was a certain harmony between their ideas concerning the functions of the church. Thus, the social gospel emphasis did not upset Strong and those who followed his theology. What did alarm him and other like conservatives was that

³³ exchatology of Strong and that of Saint Augustine, The City of God, trans. by Marcus Dods (New York: Random House, Inc., 1950), pp. 609-69.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 1008.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 1009.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 1010-1.

there was a tendency among some American Baptist leaders to replace traditional evangelism with programs of social reform.³⁷

Many fundamentalists in the American Baptist Convention believed that their denomination should attempt to structure its churches to serve both functions which Strong had suggested. However, they also believed that these two functions were distinct and should be pursued separately.³⁸ They suggested that the denomination should have its Department of Evangelism assume the responsibility for structuring local churches for traditional evangelism, and that its Committee for Social Service (later renamed The Division for Christian Social Concern) concentrate on structuring local churches for fostering social improvements.³⁹

Throughout the Fundamentalist Controversy those who thought like Strong remained loyal to their denomination. They believed that by staying with their denomination they could restore the balance between the functions of the church which they claimed the liberals

³⁷See, Augustus H. Strong, A Tour of Missions (Boston: Griffith Publishing Co., 1918), pp. xxii, 223.

³⁸Eldon Ernst, "The Baptist Jubilee in Historical Context," Foundations, Vol. VII, No. 1 (January-March, 1966), pp. 18-19.

³⁹Ibid.

were destroying.⁴⁰

Not all Fundamentalists sought to establish this "balance." There were others who rejected all denominational programs which evidenced any trace of the influence of the social gospel. Such fundamentalists were frequently among those who followed the theology of John Nelson Darby, which was the dominant theology of almost all Bible Institutes.⁴¹

In addition to the usual fundamentalistic doctrines, Darby taught that the history of man, which he claimed began somewhere around 4000 B.C., was divided into seven distinct periods or dispensations. Of these dispensations, Lewis Sperry Chafer said:

⁴⁰ Joseph Chapman, I'll Not Run Away, A pamphlet prepared for the Baptists of Ohio, n.d. (copies are available at the offices of the Ohio Baptist Convention in Granville, Ohio).

⁴¹ George E. Ladd, Crucial Questions About the Kingdom of God (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), pp. 49-50., says of these men: "From their influence has come a host of Bible Institutes and Bible conferences which have supported the dispensational interpretation of prophecy. Probably the most influential single representative of this position has been The Scofield Reference Bible of which tens of thousands of copies have been sold to date, and which is now selling in increasingly large numbers. The magnum opus of dispensational eschatology will be found in Lewis Sperry Chafer's Systematic Theology where the entire range of theology is interpreted in the light of dispensational theology. See, Lewis Sperry Chafer, Systematic Theology (Dallas, Tex.: Dallas Seminary Press, 1948), 8 Vols., Scofield, The Scofield Reference Bible.

These periods are clearly separated and the recognition of their divisions with their divine purposes constitutes one of the most important factors in true interpretation of the Scriptures. These divisions of time are termed dispensations, ... Each dispensation, therefore, begins with man divinely placed in a new position of privilege and responsibility, and closes with the failure of man resulting in righteous judgments from God. While there are certain abiding facts such as the holy character of God which are of necessity the same in every age, there are varying instructions and responsibilities which are, as to their application limited to a given period. . . . A dispensation is more or less marked off by the new divine appointment and responsibilities with which it begins and by the divine judgments with which it ends.⁴²

Darby claimed that presently mankind was in the dispensation of Grace.

According to Darby, this age was characterized by an Apostate Church. He believed that "the institutional churches were completely perverted so that they stood opposed to the fundamental reason for which they were created."⁴³ He said:

Satan having beguiled the Church, the church is in the position of earthliness and united in system with the world: he

⁴²Lewis Sperry Chafer, Major Bible Themes (Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1926), pp. 96-98. The explanation of dispensations given by Darby is not as clear as that given by Chafer, see Darby, The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby, Vol. I, p. 193.

⁴³Darby, The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby, Vol. I, p. 456.

has got it while it was in its low state, tied down by its own will first, then by actual bonds into the unhallowed union which makes it a bar and a hindrance to the Spirit of God. . . .⁴⁴

He called upon "true" Christians to repudiate the institutional churches, to withdraw from them, and to organize into simple assemblies of true believers, devoid of ecclesiastical structure.⁴⁵ Consequently, the followers of the theology of Darby tended to regard any denominational organization, (i.e., the American Baptist Convention) as a part of the Satanic scheme to foster apostasy.⁴⁶ The theological liberalism of denominational leaders like Mathews and Rauschenbusch confirmed such beliefs and these dispensationalists developed strong schismatic tendencies. Large numbers of dispensationalist pastors

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 222.

⁴⁵Ibid., Vol. III, p. 37. This suggestion seems inconsistent with the fact that Darby created his own religious institution.

⁴⁶See, Letter to the New Jersey Baptist Convention from The First Baptist Church of Metuchen, N. J., dated February 18, 1961. (Copies of this letter were mimeographed and sent to all pastors of The New Jersey Baptist Convention, which is affiliated with the American Baptist Convention.) Opposition to the National Council of Churches is even more severe than is the opposition to the denomination. See, The Case Against A World Church (Seattle: Life Messengers, n.d.); this pamphlet was sent to all American Baptist pastors as part of a program to encourage them to withdraw from their denomination because of its involvement in the ecumenical movement.

led their churches out of the American Baptist Convention.⁴⁷

One of the factors that, to the dispensationalists, served as evidence of the apostasy of the American Baptist Convention was the favorable attitude which some of its leaders entertained toward the social gospel. For those who accepted dispensationalism there was no hope for improving society.⁴⁸ Therefore, they believed that Christians should not "waste" their time in programs of social reform.⁴⁹ Their theology instructed them to believe that society would morally decline and that its degradation was a sign that the second coming of Christ was near.⁵⁰ Darby claimed that at the end of this dispensation Christ would come and personally establish his

⁴⁷ By 1955, Conservative Baptists which had severed relationships with the American Baptist Convention reported 998 churches with 970 ministers and 250,000 members. The other major groups which separated from the American Baptist Convention, The General Association of Regular Baptists, in 1962 listed 1,031 churches with a total membership of 148,416. See, C. Penrose St. Amanto, "Other Baptist Bodies," Baptist Advance, edited by Davis Collier Wooley (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1964), pp. 372-375.

⁴⁸ Scofield, Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth, p. 22.

⁴⁹ See, Oswald J. Smith, The Passion for Souls (Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963), p. 52. Smith has served as Pastor of The Peoples Church of Toronto, Canada. He is a leading figure among contemporary dispensationalists.

⁵⁰ See Charles A. Porter, An Outlined Study of Romans (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1953), p. 12; Strauss, God's Plan for the Future, pp. 17-33.

Kingdom upon earth.⁵¹ Since the transformation of society could only be wrought by Christ at the time of his second coming, and since nothing that men could do would hinder the corruption of society, the dispensationalists came to believe that the efforts of the social gospelers were useless.⁵² They came to regard the social gospel as a Satanic plan to divert Christians from the only function through which they could help society, namely, the preaching of the gospel.⁵³ Ideologically supported by the same doctrine of salvation which was held by traditional Calvinistic Baptists, they believed that the church should only be structured to communicate "the way of salvation" to the unconverted. Shafer said:

The practical bearing of all this upon the subject of this study is that, in the present age, never is the individual believer (much less the Church) appointed of God to a world-improvement program; but the believer is called to be a witness in all the world to Christ and His saving grace, and through this ministry of Gospel-preaching the Spirit of God will accomplish the supreme purpose in the age.⁵⁴

It is difficult to estimate the strength of dis-

⁵¹ Darby, The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby, p. 437.

⁵² Smith, The Passion for Souls, p. 52.

⁵³ Lewis Sperry Chafer, True Evangelism, revised edition (Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Company, 1922), pp. 27-28.

⁵⁴ Chafer, Major Bible Themes, p. 214.

pensationalism in the American Baptist Convention. The director of the Commission on the Ministry of the denomination has claimed that it is safe to assume that the majority of pastors trained in Bible Institutes and a large proportion of those who have had no formal training for the ministry are of this theological persuasion.⁵⁵ Unquestionably dispensationalism was strong enough to make an impact on denominational life, and part of this impact was in the form of adverse criticism to the suggestion that the denomination structure its churches to encourage social reform. Withdrawing their membership

⁵⁵ Telephone interview with Robert D. Rasmussen, Director of the Commission on the Ministry of the Board of Education and Publication of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., July 13, 1967. Hartshorne and Froyd, Theological Education in the American Baptist Convention, p. 103, states that 9.8% of the American Baptist pastors have had no formal training for the ministry. A more recent study than that of Hartshorne and Froyd indicates that, as late as 1955, 19.87% of American Baptist pastors had been exposed to Bible Institute training. See, The Second Half Century of A.B.C. Leadership Development, a study made by the Commission on the Ministry of Department of Education and Publication of the American Baptist Convention in Valley Forge, Pa., 1958. (In the files of Department of Education and Publication of the A.B.C.), pp. 1-10, (Mimeographed). American Baptist Churches have been particularly susceptible to employing pastors with Bible Institute training or with no formal training at all. A large number of these churches have had very small memberships and have lacked the financial means to pay the salary expected for fully trained seminary graduates. In such predicaments they often found the Bible Institute graduates very willing to accept their limited offerings. See, Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention-1950 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1950), pp. 150-65.

from a denomination which they believed was departing from its only valid function was an easy step for those whose theology condemned all institutionalized forms of religion.

The Effects Which the Conservative Reaction Had Upon the Denominational Program

The conservative spirit which developed during the post-World War I era gave support to the positions held by the Fundamentalists. Thus fortified, they struggled to lead the entire denomination to embrace their theology and their program.⁵⁶

In 1920, J. C. Massee, W. B. Riley, John Roach Straton, and Curtis Lee Laws organized the Fundamental Fellowship of the Northern Baptist Convention.⁵⁷ On June 21 of that year the fellowship called a Pre-convention Conference on the Fundamentals of the Baptist

⁵⁶For detailed information concerning the activities of fundamentalists in the American Baptist Convention see, Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), pp. 441-61; Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 103-18; Cole, The History of Fundamentalists, pp. 65-97.

⁵⁷Torbet, A History of Baptists, p. 495. The Liberals in the denomination organized into a group called The Roger Williams Fellowship. See, Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 108, 148, 158, 196.

Faith. This was the first of a series of yearly pre-convention meetings which were called by American Baptist Fundamentalists prior to the annual meetings of their denomination.⁵⁸

The Fundamental Fellowship condemned the participation of the denomination in the Federal Council of Churches and also asked that the denomination investigate its seminaries, which they suspected of teaching liberal theology. The group endeavored to have the convention establish a uniform confession of faith for its churches. It tried to have the American Baptist missionary societies purged of all who were not theologically conservative.⁵⁹ However, all of these efforts met with defeat.⁶⁰ Some of the members of the group, like Masse, resigned themselves to adapting to a denomination which was less than they hoped it might be.⁶¹ Others, like Riley, eventually withdrew from membership in the denomination and encouraged their churches to do the same.⁶²

⁵⁸ Torbet, A History of Baptists, p. 445.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 445-6.

⁶⁰ Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, pp. 117-8.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 106, 117; Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, pp. 79-81.

⁶² Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, pp. 106-7. The church polity of Baptists allows each local congregation to decide on its own affairs. A congregation wishing to disassociate itself with the denomination can do so

During 1933 nearly fifty churches withdrew from the denomination and formed the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches. This group of churches adopted the New Hampshire Confession of Faith with a pre-millennial interpretation of the last article. Essentially, dispensationalism was the official theology of the association.⁶³ The majority of the Fundamental Fellowship tried to remain with the denomination and continued what became a bitter struggle to influence denominational policies and programs.⁶⁴ Moderates of the fellowship (usually fundamentalists who embraced a theology similar to that of Strong) came to oppose the schismatic tendencies of the group, and gradually withdrew from membership.⁶⁵ Then, in May 1947, those remaining in the fellowship (renamed the Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Northern Baptists) organized another denomination called the Conservative Baptist Association of America. They, along with the churches which con-

⁶² simply by a vote of its members. The denomination has no authority to interfere with the decisions of local churches. Thus, the American Baptist Convention is extremely vulnerable to schisms and this encourages denominational leaders to be cautious in developing programs or policy.

⁶³ See, The Baptist Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 12 (May, 1944).

⁶⁴ See Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, pp. 110-8.

⁶⁵ Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, pp. 80f, 289f.

sented to follow their leadership, withdrew from the denomination.⁶⁶

In spite of these losses, conservative theology has remained strong among American Baptists. A recent survey indicated that nine out of ten pastors listed their theological positions as conservative.⁶⁷ Denominational leaders have had to be cognizant of this fact as they have planned programs for their constituency.

The A.B.H.M.S. was particularly sensitive to this Post World War I conservative reaction. To lead its Department of Evangelism, it appointed men who held to the traditional theology of Baptists and were committed to having the churches structured for their traditional function. They desired leaders who would not make radical suggestions which would further antagonize the many fundamentalists who remained within the denomination.⁶⁸

H. F. Stilwell was appointed General Secretary of the Department of Evangelism in 1923 and during the the next few years he challenged his denomination with

⁶⁶ Torbet, A History of Baptists, p. 452.

⁶⁷ The Second Half Century of A.B.C. Leadership Development.

⁶⁸ Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition, p. 140.

the slogan, "A Soul Winning Effort in Every Baptist Church in Each Convention Year."⁶⁹ Stilwell felt that the day in which revival meetings could be successful had passed and he depended upon visitation evangelism as the primary means of reaching the unchurched.⁷⁰ However, his hopes for gains in the numbers of conversions were not realized and the years which followed were marked by decreases in attendance at church worship and in financial receipts for the denomination program. By 1927, the American Baptist Convention resolved, "to study causes for the failure of the local churches to retain a larger proportion of their members and to formulate suggestions to meet this emergency."⁷¹ The traditional structure of Baptist churches was failing to fulfill its function in the rapidly emerging urban society. In the face of this failure Stilwell resigned.

The A.B.H.M.S. named Benjamin T. Livingston to succeed Stilwell as General Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S. He also tried to make the traditional structure of the church operate success-

⁶⁹ The theological and social conservatism of Stilwell is evidenced in his initial report to the N.B.C. See, Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1923, pp. 414f.

⁷⁰ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1925, pp. 621-9.

⁷¹ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1927, p. 483.

fully. Like his predecessor he was frustrated in his effort to stimulate membership growth in his denomination.⁷² He resigned in 1931 to take a teaching position at the newly established Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁷³

Because of a lack of funds, the resignation of Livingston did not prompt the A.B.H.M.S. to seek an immediate successor. Officially Charles S. Detweiler, Secretary of Missions in Latin America, temporarily doubled up offices to act simultaneously as Superintendent of Evangelism.⁷⁴ A reading of the annual reports indicates that the department was inactive during Detweiler's term of office.

In 1936 Walter E. Woodbury took office as General Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S. In many ways he was almost the ideal American Baptist leader. His theology was Calvinistic and his program for evangelism utilized the traditional church structure of his denomination. There have been few leaders who have more closely represented the ideas and attitudes

⁷² Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1930, pp. 55-56.

⁷³ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1931, pp. 459-60.

⁷⁴ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1932, p. 372.

generally held by American Baptists.⁷⁵

Born in Nashua, New Hampshire in 1886, raised by devoted Baptist parents, and having attended Baptist educational institutions, Woodbury in many ways reflected the nineteenth century American manner of thinking. He had a bias for the agrarian society and evinced a suspicion that cities were centers of evil.⁷⁶ He demonstrated vestiges of the puritan morality,⁷⁷ possessed an anti-intellectual attitude toward sermons and desired informality in worship services.⁷⁸ Since

⁷⁵Walter Woodbury, Watchman Examiner, Vol. XXXVI, No. 20 (May 14, 1964), p. 380.

⁷⁶Walter E. Woodbury, Evangelizing Our Constituency (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1948), p. 34, says: "One powerful factor in pulling Christians away from Christ and his ideals is the pagan social life of our cities and towns, which is generally under the leadership of men and women of the world who make no pretense of following Christ."

⁷⁷Woodbury, Evangelizing Our Constituency, p. 13, gives evidence of his strict puritan morality. He writes: "Sometimes men push God out of their lives by their disobedience to his great law of the Sabbath. . . .When the Lord's Day is dedicated wholly to God, to his worship and to the work of His kingdom, God becomes a gripping reality in our lives." On pages 19f of the same work he writes: "For often such back slidden Christians are out until 2:00 o'clock Sunday morning participating in the wild ways of the unconverted. And not infrequently they take unconverted friends with them on week-end excursions where there is no thought of God, but only of selfish pleasure." On page 17 he says: "Christian leaders must speak out boldly against profanity, gambling, alcoholic drinking, free love and the breaking of marriage vows."

⁷⁸Woodbury, in Evangelizing Our Constituency, p.35, says: ". . .if the worship is formal and lacking in the warmth of sincerity, if the message is abstract and hides

the Northern Baptist Convention had not yet become adapted to the twentieth century society,⁷⁹ this nineteenth century type personality fit into its activities with near perfection.

It was under Woodbury that the techniques of visitation evangelism were refined and used most extensively.⁸⁰ Woodbury encouraged American Baptists by registering some successes in winning new converts. He appointed area directors of evangelism who helped churches carry on his program. By 1940 the traditional structure of the church seemed to be working effectively. The Department of Evangelism could report: "Seldom has the importance of a vital religious experience and of an aggressive outreach into the unbelieving world been given more prominence in our Northern Baptist program."⁸¹

In spite of its initial successes, by the late 1940's Woodbury's program had lost much of its effectiveness. The numbers of "converts" joining American Bap-

⁷⁸ rather than reveals the merciful God and the living Christ, such God-hungry folk will go home convinced that the church does not have what they need."

⁷⁹ Robert W. Lynn, The Church as Meeting House (New York: The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board, 1961), pp. 20-21.

⁸⁰ Ernst, "The Baptist Advance in Historical Context," p. 13.

⁸¹ Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1940, p. 727.

tist churches was declining annually and there seemed to be nothing that Woodbury and his associates could do to remedy the situation. Woodbury's program did seem to work well in the rural areas of the nation but efforts to make it work in the cities met with frustration.⁸² Baptist leaders realized that rural successes were not enough. The Home Mission Societies reported: "Unless the Christian Church can bring Christ to redeem the city, we shall fail to redeem America."⁸³ This trend of declining membership for American Baptist Churches continued during the 1950's. A statistical study of the denomination made in 1957 was discouraging:

Each day since 1950, American Baptists have been losing 1.2 members per hour.

On each successive Sunday, during the past six years, there have been almost 201 fewer people in our membership. American Baptists have been losing 10,473 members each year. . . .

If the trend of the past six years continues, within a decade over 100,000 members and 500 churches will be lost.⁸⁴

It was becoming evident to Baptist leaders that the structure of the church was no longer functioning

⁸² Ernst, "The Baptist Advance in Historical Context," pp. 14-15.

⁸³ Annual of the American Baptist Convention, 1950, p. 158.

⁸⁴ Edward D. Rapp and James A. Scott, American Baptists Today (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1957), p. 32.

effectively and there were many who believed that the time had come for a change. When Woodbury retired from office in 1956 the A.B.H.M.S. appointed Jitsuo Morikawa as his successor. There was hope that Morikawa could suggest to their denomination new structures for the church which would enable American Baptists to carry out their time honored function. Concerning Morikawa's appointment the annual report of the A.B.H.M.S. stated:

The year 1956 may prove to be a turning point in the evangelistic history of the denomination when one notable era came to a close and a new era still uncertain began. . . . The new era into which we have entered seems to point to a searching finger in the direction of a needed recovery of a profound theology of evangelism. The nature of the good news, the context of the gospel, the substance of the church's witness in the context of this age become evangelism's grave concern.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Annual of the American Baptist Convention, 1956, pp. 313ff.

PART II

CHAPTER VI

AN ACCOUNT OF THE APPOINTMENT OF JITSUO MORIKAWA AND A SURVEY OF HOW HE ANALYZES AND PROPOSES TO REMEDY THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Since assuming the office of Executive Secretary of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S., Morikawa has begun to propose changes in the function and structure of the church which have proved to be more revolutionary than most denominational leaders had expected. His analysis of the failure of American Baptist Churches to function effectively in the contemporary urban society and the manner in which he has proposed that the failure be remedied has caused so much dissension in the American Baptist Convention that many constituents wonder how their denomination came to appoint such a radical. Thus, it is important that his appointment be explained and that his analysis of and proposals for the denomination be clarified.

A Biographical Sketch of Jitsuo Morikawa and an
Account of His Appointment to the Office of
Executive Secretary of the Department of
Evangelism of the American Baptist
Home Mission Societies

Jitsuo Morikawa was reared in a Buddhist home and has maintained a high regard for the manner in which his parents followed their religion. They demonstrated compassion and concern for others in ways which he has seldom seen equaled in the lives of Christians.¹ It was only after a desperate emotional struggle at the age of sixteen, that he turned away from the religion of his family and was converted to Christianity.² However, traces of his Buddhistic heritage seem to evidence themselves subtly in his theology, particularly as he explains the nature of salvation and the after-life.

During the Second World War Morikawa and his family had the unpleasant experience of being in one of the concentration camps which the United States government had established for Japanese peoples living on the

¹Jitsuo Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, an address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, June 4, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies), p. 4, (Mimeographed).

²Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1961), p. 13.

West Coast.³ This experience had a profound impact on his life and contributed to the passion for social justice which is evident in his doctrine of salvation. After having experienced the effects of society's prejudices he has little respect for any doctrine of salvation which does not include the deliverance of men from social injustices.

When Morikawa was converted to Christianity, he became part of a fundamentalistic group of Baptists. With a sectarian zeal he attended classes at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. Later he studied at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.⁴ Following graduation from seminary he held various positions in the Christian education program of his denomination. He also pastored churches in the American Baptist Convention, the last of which was the First Baptist Church of Chicago.⁵

He was serving in Chicago when the World Council of Churches met in Evanston, Illinois for its second assembly. Since his church was not far to the south

³Interview with Jitsuo Morikawa, February 10, 1966, at his office in Philadelphia, Pa.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Biographical sketches of Morikawa are available at the offices of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S. in Valley Forge, Pa,

of that historic meeting he was able to visit its sessions often and was influenced by the discussions which took place there.⁶ To the surprise of many American theological liberals the theme "Christ--the Hope of the World" centered the attention of the assembly's delegates on various doctrines of eschatology.⁷ The records of the assembly seem to indicate that the delegates discussed eschatology in order to develop a theological interpretation of history.⁸ World War II had left many people, particularly those in Europe, disillusioned with the doctrines of the excessively optimistic nineteenth century social philosophers. The Communists confronted Christendom with a highly developed philosophy of history. Oppressed Christians from Iron Curtain countries wanted to know the purposes for which they were suffering. These factors and others encouraged the Evanston delegates to work toward a philosophy of history grounded in

⁶Interview with Morikawa, February 10, 1966.

⁷H. P. van Dusen, "The Issues of Christian Hope," The Christian Century, Vol. LXX, No. 47 (November 25, 1953), pp. 1357-9.

⁸W. Freytag, "Impressions of the Evanston Assembly," Ecumenical Review, Vol. VII, No. 1 (October, 1954), pp. 9-13. The Evanston Report: The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1954 (ed.), W. A. Visser't Hooft (New York: Harper, 1955), pp. 70, 89-108.

Christian theology.⁹ One of the interpretations of history developed by the assembly was given serious attention by Morikawa and, in a modified form, contributed to the formation of the basic outline from which he constructed his theology of evangelism.¹⁰

Since the Evanston assembly, the leaders of the World Council of Churches have continued to exert a significant influence upon him. His addresses and writings are filled with references to such men as Hans-Ruedi Weber, Hendrick Kraemer, J. C. Hoekendijk and D. T. Niles.

In 1956 Jitsuo Morikawa was appointed to the office of Executive Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies. His theology later proved to be so different from that which had been traditionally held by Baptists that

⁹M. A. C. Warren, "The Missionary Obligation of the Church in the Present Historical Situation with Consideration of the Radical New Relationship Between East and West," International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXIX (October, 1950), pp. 393-408; van Dusen, "The Issues of Christian Hope," pp. 1357-9.

¹⁰A Theological Reflection on the Works of Evangelism, Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2 (November, 1959), World Council of Churches Bulletin. This particular work is referred to often in both of Morikawa's attempts to systematize his thought. See, Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," Leaven (ed.) Paul O. Madsen (Valley Forge, Pa.: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1962); Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 32, 53.

many have asked how he was able to secure this appointment. The answer to this question, asked especially by the theologically conservative members of his denomination, comes from Morikawa himself.

Morikawa explains that E. T. Dahlberg, one-time president of the National Council of Churches, was primarily responsible for his appointment. Dahlberg was chairman of the Committee on Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies at the time that Walter E. Woodbury, Morikawa's predecessor in this office, retired. It became the responsibility of this committee to nominate a new executive secretary. Dahlberg had heard Morikawa preach on several occasions and recognized in his sermons many theological concepts akin to his own. He saw the resignation of Woodbury as an opportunity to bring into this important position of denominational leadership this man who might provide the kind of leadership which he believed the American Baptist Convention needed. It was through Dahlberg that Morikawa was introduced to the Committee on Evangelism, which in turn gave its approval to his candidacy. The Committee then presented Morikawa to the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies which, after some questioning, elected him to

office.¹¹ The 1957 annual report of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies stated:

The year 1956 has been a crucial one in the Department of Evangelism. Its secretary for twenty years, Dr. Walter E. Woodbury, came to the completion of his distinguished leadership in a well-deserved official retirement. Into his position was called a younger man, fresh out of the pastorate, untried in the vast complexities of administrative leadership in evangelism.¹²

Having once taken office Morikawa diligently worked upon the development of a new theological basis of evangelism for American Baptists. In this endeavor he travelled through Europe to learn what the theologians in that part of the world were saying about the evangelistic mission of the church. He invited many European leaders to the United States to share their points of view with the leadership of his denomination. In reporting to his denomination he said:

One sign of hope is the courage of American Baptists to engage in the costly discipline of theological struggle by listening and exposing themselves to new theological truths. . . . We have listened to men of many theological traditions of the one church with whom we have agreed and disagreed: Hendrick Kraemer of Holland,

¹¹Interview with Morikawa, February 10, 1966. Also, this information was confirmed in a personal letter to the author from E. T. Dahlberg, dated August 9, 1966.

¹²Year Book of the American Baptist Convention, 1956-57 (Valley Forge: American Baptist Publication Society, 1957), pp. 313-14.

David Orr of Scotland, D. T. Niles of India, Horst Symanowski of West Germany, Emilio Castro of Uruguay, Thomas Liggett of Puerto Rico as well as a host of men from our own tradition.¹³

He travelled to Burma to observe a social revolution in progress and then endeavored to incorporate into his program ideas which he developed as a result of what he saw.¹⁴ He, and the entire staff of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, held their planning session in Mexico City in a further effort to develop the theological meaning which he discerned in social movements.¹⁵

As it became evident to staff members of the Department of Evangelism who had served under Walter E. Woodbury, that Morikawa would not be emphasizing visitation evangelism in his program they resigned one by one. Morikawa replaced them with such men as Harvey Cox and Richard Jones.¹⁶ These new appointees, serving as theological consultants, exercised an influence on Morikawa's ideas concerning the evangelistic mission of

¹³ Year Book of the American Baptist Convention, 1965-66, p. 257.

¹⁴ Jitsuo Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," Missions (September, 1961), pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ Interview with Morikawa, February 10, 1966.

¹⁶ Harvey Cox is the author of The Secular City (New York: Macmillan Press, 1965). Richard Jones was formerly on the teaching staff at Berkley Divinity School, Berkley, California.

the church.

In 1959 the American Baptist Convention joined with other major Baptist denominations in the United States and Canada for a five year program of evangelism called the Baptist Jubilee Advance.¹⁷ Each of the Baptist groups involved was to urge all of its personnel and supporting organizations to work along with its department of evangelism so that this program for the evangelizing of North America might be successfully carried out.¹⁸ Because he was Executive Secretary of the Department of Evangelism, Morikawa was appointed the Executive Director of B.J.A. for his denomination. Hence he came to occupy a position in which he could exercise great influence over the policies, ideas and programs of all American Baptist organizations.¹⁹ Under such conditions his theology was destined to receive special attention and become the source of controversy.

Morikawa points out that T. M. Chastings, who was the Executive Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies at the time of his appointment

¹⁷ See footnote 15 in Chapter I for further details. Throughout the paper the Baptist Jubilee Advance will be abbreviated B.J.A.

¹⁸ David Collier Woolley (ed.), Baptist Advance (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1964), p. ix.

¹⁹ Year Book of the American Baptist Convention, 1956-57, p. 313.

to office, and W. H. Rhoades, who presently holds this position, have both supported him in his ideas and programming. He acknowledges that without their help and support he probably would not have been able to continue in office.²⁰

Morikawa's Analysis of the Structure of American
Baptist Churches and his Suggestions for
Improving the Functional Fit of
Their Structure

During his earliest days in office Morikawa was influenced by those who proposed that the church could be helped greatly in structuring itself for service in its society if it would heed some of the advice and follow some of the suggestions of sociologists.²¹ An examination of Morikawa's addresses and writings gave evidence that he took this proposal seriously. His understanding of why American Baptist Churches have failed to function successfully in the modern urban society and the changes in the structure of the church which he suggests stem from following sociological study methods. More specifically, Morikawa seems to

²⁰ Interview with Morikawa, February 10, 1966.

²¹ *Ibid.* Morikawa said that J. C. Hoekendijk, E. R. Wickham and Harvey Cox have each personally made such a suggestion to him.

have been caught up in a particular school of thought called sociological functionalism, popular in America because of its close relationship to pragmatic philosophy.

Robert T. Holt has outlined the methodology with which sociological functionalists analyze and evaluate the structure of a social institution to determine if it is functionally fit for the social system of which it is a part. He states:

. . . it is necessary to do two things: (1) to specify the system under consideration, and (2) to postulate a set of functional requisites for that system. It is essential to specify the system under consideration, because an activity that may contribute to the satisfaction of a functional requisite at one system level may be nonfunctional (i.e., dysfunctional) at another system level. It is necessary to postulate a set of functional requisites, because in our formation system relevance can be established most efficaciously in terms of system requirements.²²

The sociological functionalists try to analyze the total social system in which an institution is set. They seek to understand how the parts of the system are interrelated, and try to understand what purposes the institution serves in the system. They then suggest changes in the structure of the institution which

²² Robert T. Holt, "A Proposed Structural-Functional Framework for Political Science," Functionalism in the Social Sciences (ed.), Don Martindale (Philadelphia: The Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1965), p. 89.

enable it to be integrated with the other parts of the society in such a way as to fulfill effectively some of the system's essential needs. Morikawa analyzes the church's functional fit in a manner which is comparable to this. He asks the same questions that the sociological functionalists ask about the structure of the church. He asks:

a--What structures fulfill or hinder mission (i.e., the church's function)?

b--Does the structure of the congregation meet or miss the structures of the world?

c--What structures can be eliminated and new structures added?

d--What is the structure of the church reduced to its simplest expression?²³

Morikawa's question as to whether or not the structure of the church meets or misses the structures of the world presupposes the fulfillment of Holt's requirement that the system in which the institution functions be specified. Then, in accord with Holt's second requirement, a judgement could be made as to whether or not the church meets the functional requisites of the system. Only after such steps are taken could Morikawa determine which structures fulfill or hinder the

²³ Jitsuo Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., May 1, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4, (Mimeographed).

church's mission, which structures can be eliminated, and which new structures should be added.

According to his analysis the failure of American Baptist churches to function successfully in the modern urban world is due to the fact that their structure is dysfunctional.²⁴ He believes that the vast and significant changes in American society during the last hundred years have been accompanied by transformations or modifications in the structure of every social institution except the church. He claims that American Baptists have been unwilling to change their nineteenth century church structure to meet the functional requisites of the twentieth century society. According to Morikawa, a century ago the church was harmoniously integrated with the social system in which it was set, but the system has changed while the church's structure has remained the same; that harmonious integration has been lost and the church has become dysfunc-

²⁴It should be noted that when Morikawa talks about the failure of the church, he means something different from what Baptists have traditionally meant by failure. Baptists have traditionally measured the success and failure of the church in terms of the number of converts won, but Morikawa has tried to measure its success and failure in terms of the kind of influence which it has exerted on its society. Cf. Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, pp. 1-4.

tional.²⁵ He says:

Some of us are not aware of the kind of world in which we live. At least knowledge and insight into contemporary culture is of little concern. We too easily feel that the function of the church is to proclaim a timeless gospel of man's unchanging needs, to help him know God, for when he knows Him all ills are solved. There are others who are sensitive to the character of this age, yet who make no effort to come to terms with this world in program planning and actual ministry, making no serious change and adjustment to confront such a world. . . . Our church's irrelevance is due in part to our unwillingness to face the fact that our church's structure is designed to minister to a culture of other generations, . . .²⁶

Morikawa contends that the church's dysfunctional structure can be discovered by means of an examination of its activities and programs. Such an examination will reveal that the church primarily endeavors to get people into its buildings or at least to be involved in

²⁵Jitsuo Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, A study paper prepared for the use of the staff of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, Valley Forge, Pa., 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies) p. 4, (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., May 1, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4 (mimeographed). Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 53.

²⁶Jitsuo Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., February 20, 1962 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 2-3 (mimeographed).

its meetings.²⁷ However, he believes that rather than being structured to invite people into its meetings, the church should be structured to serve people in the places where they live. He goes on to say that the place where the church holds meetings is not necessarily where men live most of the time. In the last century when people usually resided, worked, and carried on their recreation in the same community, Morikawa says that it might have been acceptable to have churches which ministered only to residential areas. But in the present, he explains, they work, have their friends, and reside in different places. He says that people are spending an increasing proportion of time in situations other than their residential communities, and the church is not structured to function in these other situations.²⁸

The church, Morikawa believes, must have a struc-

²⁷ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 76; Jitsuo Morikawa, Mission to the World, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Detroit, Mich., May 18, 1963 (in the file of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 2 (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), p. 4.

²⁸ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, pp. 3-4, Jitsuo Morikawa, The Baptist Jubilee Report to the American Baptist Convention, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Atlantic City, N.J., May 19, 1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4 (mimeographed).

ture which enables it to serve in the industrial, educational and residential sectors. But he senses that such a structure is what the church lacks. This lack, he thinks, has necessarily left the church out of the industrial and business centers of society and limited it to suburbs where it can maintain the traditional forms to which it has grown accustomed.²⁹

Yet, according to him, most of the major decisions of people's lives are not made in the communities where they live, and most of the stresses and problems which they must face are not related to their residential areas.³⁰

²⁹ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 80.

³⁰ Morikawa, Mission to the World, p. 4. Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, pp. 3-4. In a personal interview, conducted on February 10, 1965 at the offices of Metropolitan Associates, Morikawa explained that these opinions concerning the dysfunctional structures of the church were not original with him. Some were learned from Hugh White, director of the Detroit Industrial Mission, and others were learned from E. R. Wickham, founder of the Sheffield Industrial Mission. In the year 1957 he travelled to Detroit and to Sheffield in an effort to make a first-hand study of the work which these men were carrying on. Morikawa did not take time to specify which ideas came from which men (he was not sure that he could recall such exact information). Not only did he confer with these men during the planning of the B.J.A. program, but he often had meetings, discussions and correspondence with them during and after the years of B.J.A. Morikawa particularly cited one of Wickham's books as being significant in contributing to the ideas cited above. The book is E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957).

Another evidence of the dysfunctional structure of the church is suggested by Morikawa's claim that the church is not able to minister to the power structures of society. He says that the church has been organized to minister to the "weakness and frailty" of man, but not to minister to the "structures of power and authority."³¹ By this Morikawa means that the church has been able to minister to the sick, the insane, the derelicts, the prostitutes, and men with "sinful habits," but in recent years it has not been able to minister in such areas of society as government, industry, education and the arts. He says that the church has been unable to play a significant role in social revolutions which are occurring throughout the world.³² Like Bonhoeffer, Morikawa wants to have a church which is interrelated with the institutions and social agencies which constitute the powerful centers of life and society, as well as one which ministers to men in their weaknesses, frailties, and individual needs.³³

³¹ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, pp. 10-11.

³² Morikawa, Mission to the World, p. 2. Morikawa, Baptist Jubilee Advance Report to the American Baptist Convention, pp. 4-5.

³³ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 10. In this study paper Morikawa quotes from Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Letters and Papers from Prison, ed. by Eberhard Bethage, trans. by Reginald H. Fuller (New York: The Macmillan Company), pp. 163-6. This book is often cited by Morikawa in his articles and sermons.

Morikawa not only believes that the church in the modern urban society needs restructuring but he also claims that the function which the church fulfills should be changed.³⁴ He says that many of the most urgent needs of contemporary man are novel expressions of the twentieth century. At one time man's "ultimate concern" was to discover a means whereby at death he could escape punishment in hell and gain entrance into heaven. The church therefore functioned to meet this need. However, he claims that just as society has undergone vast changes in recent years, the needs of men have also changed. The improvements in the physical conditions of life along with a growing tendency to think empirically have changed the focus of man's concern from heaven to life in this world.³⁵ Morikawa thinks that the church no longer meets the needs of modern man simply by giving him hope for the afterlife. He believes that many men are more concerned with what happens to their society than they are about the ultimate fate of their "souls."³⁶ Morikawa

³⁴ Sociological functionalists acknowledge that one function can be served by numerous structures so that a change in structure does not necessarily mean a change in function. C. G. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 33-34.

³⁵ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 2. Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and The Clergy," p. 69.

³⁶ Ibid.

decries the fact that the church has continued to cleave to its traditional function even though social changes have wrought changes in the needs of men.

. . .our evangelism campaigns continue to match former raids of Indians who invaded the enemy's territory to hunt scalps, then hastily returned to their own world. Yet the world is no hunting ground for the church. God loves the world. . . . Our task is to participate in Christ's ministry in and to the world, instead of building up a church fortress which becomes a world in itself, we have to be with Christ in and for the world.³⁷

Thus, Morikawa boldly claims that the church is not only in need of a change in its structure but also in its function. He claims that failure to make such changes will doom the church to an increasingly dysfunctional role in society, which will eventually cause it to go out of existence.³⁸

To demonstrate what happens to churches that are not functionally structured to serve the needs of the social system in which they are set, Morikawa points to the demise of the churches of Europe. He says that just a few decades ago the churches of Scotland and

³⁷ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 74.

³⁸ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 18. Morikawa's claim at this point is in accord with what the sociological functionalist, Robert K. Merton, says about dysfunctional structures, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 40-41.

Germany showed every sign of power and wealth but they are now reduced to a condition in which their pews are almost empty and their influence is almost nil.³⁹ Morikawa claims that by their own admission these churches have failed because they were not functionally structured to serve the needs of their people. He states:

Out of their chastened humiliation the church in Germany is asking today how they could have been so blind. Their painful confession is, 'We were consumed with out own spiritual life and unconcerned with the world, with the economic and political crisis of our nation.'

A generation ago the churches of Scotland were crowded to the doors, but today they are half empty and Scotland is among the most unevangelized nations in the world. The leaders of the church confess in concert, 'We were concerned with our soul's salvation, but unconcerned with the redemption of our country. We were consumed in the prosperity of our church. We ignored the plight of the working man, . . .'

Both Germany and Scotland speak to us with prophetic warning.⁴⁰

³⁹ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 10. Morikawa, Baptist Jubilee Advance Report, . . ., p. 1. In this report Morikawa says, "We have listened to men of many theological traditions of the one church with whom we have agreed and disagreed; Hendrick Kraemer of Holland, David Orr of Scotland, D. T. Niles of India, Horst Symanowski of West Germany, Emilio Castro of Uruguay, Thomas Liggett of Puerto Rico as well as a host of men from our own tradition." Obviously, these men do not all hail from Europe but Morikawa believes that they tend to evaluate what he calls the failure of European churches in much the same manner. The influences which these exerted on Morikawa was direct. During the B.J.A. years each of them was invited

He believes that if American Baptists perpetuate what he claims to be a dysfunctional church structure they will suffer the same fate.⁴¹

What Morikawa proposes as a means for improving the church's functional fit amounts to discarding the traditional structure of the church and replacing it with new structures developed through the use of methodology similar to that employed by sociological functionalists. In the process of developing these new structures Morikawa suggests that the social situation in which the church must function should be thoroughly analyzed. Such an analysis would provide data which

⁴⁰ to the United States to consult with Morikawa and other American Baptist leaders. Also, Morikawa and members of his staff visited many of the countries mentioned in order to observe the work which these men were doing. In the Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of Baptist Jubilee Advance, 1959-1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of A.B.H.M.S.), pp. iii, vii. Hans Ruedi-Weber and Hendrick Kraemer are also listed as consultants to Morikawa and his staff. It is from these men that Morikawa claims to have derived his evaluation of the failures of the churches of Europe. At this point Morikawa does not give serious attention to other possible explanations of this failure. Julian Huxley, Man in the Modern World (New York: The New American Library, 1949), pp. 128-37, explains the failure of the church as being due to the conflict the church has had with science. Bonhoeffer, Letters and Papers from Prison, pp. 163-6, attributes this decline to the increasingly secular attitudes held by people in the modern world.

⁴¹ Paul C. Allen and Jitsuo Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1961), p. 8; Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, p. 4.

would show the needs (i.e., the functional requisites) of that social system.⁴² He even suggests that his own denomination might add a professionally trained sociologist to its staff of workers in order that American Baptist leaders might be aided in the task of collecting this needed sociological data.⁴³ In an effort to gain a full understanding of society Morikawa asks the church to listen to the secular artists, playwrights and poets (including those who make no pretension of adhering to the Christian faith) in order to discern the ills of society and the nature of its needs. He thinks that

⁴²Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 3. In making such a suggestion Morikawa was following a suggestion which was in the minutes of the Working Committee of the Department on Evangelism. Through this committee the ecumenical work on the question of how to evangelize in the modern world was developed, discussed and evaluated. The Willingen and Evanston meeting of the W.W.C. had suggested many ideas about evangelism which had scarcely been explored. It became the task of this committee to elaborate those ideas. In one of the meetings of the committee the suggestion was made that the church must make a sociological analysis of the problems of the world which the church must try to solve. See Minutes of the Working Committee of the Department on Evangelism, Davos, Switzerland, July 25-30, 1955 (in the files of the National Council of Churches, New York).

⁴³Jitsuo Morikawa, Goals for National Program, A study paper prepared for the staff of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, Valley Forge, Pa., April 10, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.) pp. 1-2 (mimeographed).

these non-ecclesiastical "prophets" can often analyze and comprehend the nature of society with such perceptiveness that the church, by listening to their messages, can gather valuable information to help it understand the needs which it must serve.⁴⁴ Morikawa outlines his methodology for developing a new structure for the church in the following manner:

The total program structure is in the style of action-reflection

- (1) In much of our work heretofore we have operated on the assumption that reflection must precede action. We have prepared through Bible and theological study for the accomplishment of our mission in the world, expecting afterward to be able to engage in that mission. Experience has taught us that this style has often resulted in little action, and even in ineffective preparation.
- (2) We intend to restructure our work in an 'action-reflection' style. By this is meant the alternation of the action itself with reflection upon it. Study is more intensive and concrete if done out of the experience gained in action. Action is better informed and directed if it is reflected upon in the context of the endeavor. The New Testament itself presents evangelism in such a style (Luke 10:1-24).
- (3) Resources are extended to all churches, pastors and laymen who wish to engage with us in the suggested program at whatever level is significant for them.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Jitsuo Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Jitsuo Morikawa, Proposal for National Evangelism Strategy and Resource, A proposed program for evangelism

The character of this methodology shows further evidence of Morikawa's similarities to sociological functionalists. Robert K. Merton,⁴⁶ has outlined the methodology employed by functionalists and Morikawa's bears an obvious likeness to it. Merton calls his methodology "the serendipity pattern" and describes it as follows:

The serendipity pattern refers to the fairly common experience of observing an unanticipated, anomalous and strategic datum which becomes the occasion for developing a new theory or for extending an existing theory. Each of these elements of the pattern can be readily described. The datum is, first of all, unanticipated. A research directed toward the test of one hypothesis yields a fortuitous by-product; an unexpected observation which bears upon theories not in question when the research was begun.⁴⁷

Secondly, the observation is anomalous, surprising either because it seems inconsistent with prevailing theory or with other established facts. In either case,

⁴⁵ presented to the A.B.H.M.S., Valley Forge, Pa., December 20, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 2-3. (mimeographed). Also see Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Witnessing," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (February, 1966), p. 4.

⁴⁶ Robert K. Merton is considered to be the dean of sociological functionalists. Twice the president of the American Sociological Society, he is renowned throughout the world as one of the most scholarly champions of this school of thought. Cf. Margaret Wilson Vine, Sociological Theory (New York: Longman's Green and Co., 1959), pp. 326-8.

⁴⁷ Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 104.

the seeming inconsistency provokes curiosity; it stimulates the investigator to 'make sense of the datum,' to fit it into a broader frame of knowledge. . . .⁴⁸

And thirdly, in noting that the unexpected fact that must be strategic, i.e., that it must permit of implications which bear upon generalized theory, we are, of course, referring rather to what the observer brings to the datum than to the datum itself. For it obviously requires a theoretically sensitized observer to detect the universal in the particular.⁴⁹

Morikawa's method is similar to that outlined by Merton in that both rely on data collected in the process of testing a hypothesis to stimulate the investigator to reflect upon the data, and to develop a new explanation of the data (i.e., a new hypothesis). Some conservative theologians might object to this methodology claiming that the revelation of God in scripture, not the social system, should define the structure of the church.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 104f.

⁴⁹ Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 105.

⁵⁰ Harold B. Kuhn, "God's Work in the World," Christianity Today, Vol. X, No. 21 (July 22, 1966), p. 1112.

CHAPTER VII

THE THREAT WHICH THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION ESPOUSED BY MORIKAWA POSES FOR THE TRADITIONAL FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH

Before a new function and structure for the church can be introduced to American Baptists, it is necessary for them to be convinced that the traditional structure is unable to fulfill the functions which the church in the modern world should fulfill. A structure which, for more than a century, has effectively served the purposes of their denomination is not to be discarded without good reason.

Morikawa's understanding of the nature of salvation provides justification for discarding the traditional structure and supplies a rationale for the new function and structure which he proposes. The doctrine of salvation which he espouses leads its believers to understand the function of the church to be more than the proclaiming of the gospel to the unconverted. Consequently, a need for modification becomes apparent in both the traditional church structure and the function which that structure serves. Morikawa's doctrine of salvation causes the traditional church structure

to lose its raison d'etre (i.e., ideology), and thus provides the conditions for the introduction of a new function and structure.

This chapter will examine the doctrine of salvation espoused by Morikawa, study the specific ways in which it threatens the traditional function and structure of the church and observe the reactions of some of the conservative members of the American Baptist Convention to his thinking.

Salvation as the Establishment of "Shalom"

According to Morikawa, God's salvation for the world will be accomplished in the establishment of a new society called "Shalom."¹ Morikawa adopted this term from J. C. Hoekendijk,² who used it in an effort

¹Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 1 (Nov., 1963), p. 3; Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1964), p. 2; Jitsuo Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, A study paper prepared for the use of the staff of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, Valley Forge, Pa., 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4 (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., May 1, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 2, (mimeographed).

²Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2, acknowledges his source for this idea to be J. C. Hoekendijk, "The Call of Evangelism," International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXIX (April, 1950), pp. 171f.

to make the conception of God's Kingdom concrete and vital. "Shalom" is more than the salvation of individuals because it has broad social dimensions. Referring to Psalms 85:11-12, Hoekendijk describes "Shalom" as the meeting of "steadfast love and faithfulness, or righteousness and peace." "Shalom" actualizes the New Testament concepts of eirene and soteria, and is the most elementary Biblical expression of what life is like in the kingdom of God. "Shalom" embodies peace, integrity, community, harmony and justice.³ Morikawa particularly stresses the social dimensions of "Shalom" as he points out that:

In God's dealings with man He does not deal with each as an isolated individual, but as part of a community. There cannot be individual salvation. Salvation always implies relation with others and with God. It would be far more correct to say that salvation has to do with a new society rather than a redeemed individual soul. No man can be a person in isolation, which modern psychology has convincingly confirmed, and no man can be saved in isolation, for salvation immediately implies community of peace and justice.⁴

Morikawa says that salvation is something which will be realized in time and space,⁵ and not something which

³ Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," pp. 163-168.

⁴ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 7.

⁵ Ibid.

will be realized beyond time and space in the after-life.⁶ He claims that salvation is in the process of being realized in history as God works through various social movements and institutions to create "Shalom."⁷

Morikawa claims that "Shalom" will be enjoyed by all men and will not just be the private possession of individual Christians. It will be experienced by men whether they believe the gospel or not. To those who object to such ideas he says:

Do you have good news for all men, for the exploited and the unjust, for the saint and the sinner, for the religious and the irreligious, for the post-Christian man of unbelief? Or is it good news only to those who obey, only to those who decide, only to those who worship, so your gospel is restricted in its goodness, confining in its breadth, a new law rather than a gospel, a religion of man's works rather than God's gracious workmanship.⁸

Morikawa believes that there are "universalistic dimensions" to salvation because God is doing something for the whole world not just for Christians. He says that God is changing the world so that all men will ultimately live in a new kind of society which will be the

⁶Jitsuo Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism" Crusader, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October, 1961), p. 14.

⁷Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People (New York: American Home Mission Societies, 1961), p. 12.

⁸Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 3.

culmination of God's saving mission in history.⁹ He says:

The rest of the world is also participating in God's history, but is not aware, does not praise or celebrate these acts of God. But to say that the world out there which does not celebrate is damned is to repudiate the whole meaning of the grace of God.¹⁰

He quotes scripture to support his belief in the universalistic dimensions of salvation:

When in II Corinthians 5:19, Paul writes 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself. . . .' the cosmic reality, the reconciliation of the whole world is that to which he testifies. Again he speaks of the mystery hidden to the sons of men in other generations but now revealed in Christ as a plan for the fulness of time, 'to unite all things in Him, things in heaven and things on earth,' (Ephesians 1:10). Again in Colosians 1:19, 20. This is the incredible good news, that God in Christ has reconciled the world unto Himself.¹¹

When the theologically conservative members of

⁹Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," Leaven, ed. Paul O. Madsen (Valley Forge, Pa.: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1962), pp. 62-63, Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, A part of Morikawa's consultation with directors of evangelism of the East and East Central Regions of the United States, held in Chicago, Ill., December 5-6, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 1 (mimeographed).

¹⁰Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 2.

¹¹Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 62.

the American Baptist Convention hear Morikawa talk about the "universalistic dimensions" of salvation, they grow very uneasy. They fear that he, like most universalists in church history, is suggesting that, because of what God accomplished for mankind through the life, death and resurrection of Christ, all men will go to heaven and none will go to hell. Their fears are heightened by the suspicion that Morikawa, like some other leaders of their denomination, has come under the influence of the theology of Karl Barth which they believe teaches a doctrine of universalism.¹² They demand to know what Morikawa believes about the fate of the converted and the unconverted. They want to know from him what a person must be to go to heaven

¹² Nelson B. Baker, "No Hope Where the Gospel Has Not Been Heard?" Foundations, Vol. V., No. 1 (January, 1962), pp. 59-67. See, G. C. Berkhouwer, The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Karl Barth, translated by Harry R. Boer (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William Eerdmanns Publishing Company, 1956), pp. 112-122, pp. 262-296. Also see Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of God, Dogmatics, Vol. I, translated by Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952), p. 376. In these sections Berkhouwer and Brunner point out that Barth is not in accord with traditional theologies of universalism because Barth bases his belief in universal salvation on the doctrine of election rather than on his understanding of the love of God. Barth himself denies that he is in the ancestral line of universalists; Karl Barth, "Gottes Gnadenwahl," Theologische Existenz Heute, Heft 47 (1963), p. 50.

and what he must be to go to hell.¹³ Morikawa answers such questions by saying:

... what God will do in the future we do now know! The gospel must be declared in the divine indicative. But as to the future we must be modest. He does not tell us what He will do in the future. It is arrogant to say that many will go to heaven as well as to say many will go to hell. . . Both are presumptuous.¹⁴

Hence, he maintains the universal dimensions of salvation while holding a respectful agnosticism concerning the affairs of men and God after death. He believes in universal salvation, but refuses to be considered a universalist in the traditional understanding of the label.

If by universalism we mean that God created and redeemed the world, that His unending purpose for the whole world was fulfilled in Christ and will be consummated at the end, . . . then the gospel is truly universalistic. But if by this term we mean we know that all men will be saved, that there is no hell or damnation and there is no need of evangelizing or witnessing, 'universalism' is a distortion of the gospel. We cannot presume to know who will be saved.

¹³Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, pp. 1-2, Paul C. Allen and Jitsuo Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1961), pp. 8-9, A. Scott Hutchison (a letter to the editor), Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (April, 1961), p. 6. The editor explains that this letter was typical of many letters which have been sent to him on the subject.

¹⁴Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 6.

any more than who will be damned. Any presumptuous claim of knowledge of this kind is perilously usurping God's role.¹⁵

Whatever meaning salvation may have beyond this world is not of primary concern to Morikawa. He claims to know nothing about what happens after death. If, after death, God judges men, Morikawa claims to know nothing about the basis of His judgements.¹⁶ According to him the few hints found in scripture imply (if they imply anything about the afterlife) that God does not judge men according to their belief or non-belief, but according to their willingness to do such good deeds as visiting the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and comforting the prisoners (Matthew, 25).¹⁷ Because the afterlife is not his concern, he does not bother to theologize about it. Life in this world is the focus of his theology, and his doctrine of salvation is an attempt to explain what God is doing in this world. He teaches that God's "Shalom" is for this world, and it is the establishing of "Shalom," not the winning of persons into heaven via the church, that is God's objective in history.¹⁸ It is possibly Mori-

¹⁵ Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

¹⁶ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 5.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2.

kawa's emphasis upon salvation within the history of the world that is in part responsible for the misunderstanding between him and the more traditional members of his denomination. They think he is talking about heaven when he talks about salvation. In reality, he is talking about the "Shalom" of God which he believes is the destiny for the societies of this world. When he talks about the universal dimensions of salvation he is referring to what God is doing in and for the whole world, while more traditional Baptists think he is suggesting that all men are going to heaven. Hence they accuse him of being a universalist.¹⁹

Morikawa stresses the fact that he takes this world very seriously and refuses to minimize the meaning of salvation in the midst of history by focusing upon the afterlife.²⁰ He sees that scripture deals almost entirely with life in this world, with only vague intimations of what lies beyond.²¹ He believes that the "Shalom" of God will be a reality in this world, not in the next. "Shalom" is considered as

¹⁹ Hutchison, (A letter to the editor), Crusader, p. 6.

²⁰ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 7; A Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 4; Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 2.

²¹ Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2.

the purpose of history and not as something outside of history.²² His agnosticism concerning the afterlife forbids his discussing of salvation in any frame of reference other than that of this world.²³

It seems possible to maintain Morikawa's understanding of salvation without any reference to life after death. According to him, salvation is what God has done, is doing and will do within world history. This world is the arena in which God carries on his primary activity for man. He emphasizes that it is in this world that God is working out the meaning of His salvation.²⁴ There is some evidence that Morikawa may not believe in an afterlife at all. In an interview with the author he once said:

It makes a great deal of difference in our discussion of salvation and redemption as to whether or not there is a world other than this one, or if this one is all there is. If this world is all there is then we must take seriously our responsibility for evangelism. . . . If this is the only world in which God works out His plan of salvation then we have a sense of urgency about our task. If God is 'out there' that is one thing, but if he is immanent in history that is something else. It is a question of the importance

²² Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

²³ A Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, pp. 2-7; Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 4.

²⁴ Jitsuo Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," Missions (September, 1961), p. 21.

of history, and if history is only a prelude to another existence it is not as important as it would be if it is all there is for man's existence.²⁵

In making the above statement, Morikawa does not say there is no afterlife. If he did express a denial of the afterlife it would probably be met with strong opposition from those rank and file members of the American Baptist Convention who hold to traditional Baptist beliefs. A denominational executive is usually sensitive to what the constituency of his denomination will, or will not accept. It is likely that Morikawa is aware of the trouble which would be caused among American Baptists if he were to allow such a denial to be suggested within his theological discussions. Hence, Morikawa emphasizes that he has not denied the concept of an afterlife,²⁶ but those who study his statements on the subject will probably discover that he does not affirm such a belief either. He explains his theological position on the doctrine of the afterlife as being one of "reverent agnosticism."²⁷ This is about as far as many men in his position could go. Whether or not he would go so far as to deny the afterlife if

²⁵ Interview with Jitsuo Morikawa, May 12, 1965, at his office in Valley Forge, Pa.

²⁶ A Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, pp. 2-7.

²⁷ Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

he did not hold an executive office is hard to say. It is interesting to speculate about the extent to which his background as a Buddhist influenced his thinking about the survival of individual personalities in the afterlife.

The Purposes of Personal Decisions are Changed

Baptists have traditionally believed that in order for men to enjoy the benefits of salvation they had to make individual decisions to believe the gospel and to live in conformity with the will of God. But according to what Morikawa teaches, God's salvation can be enjoyed "whether men believe the gospel or not." He says that the changes God is bringing about in society will benefit all men. However, his theologically conservative critics are not primarily concerned with what is happening in society. They are more concerned with what happens within men individually. They believe that men are "sinners" and they are concerned about what God will do to "sinners" who have not been converted.²⁸

Morikawa's answer to these critics is that all men have been redeemed from sin. "Shalom" is yet to

²⁸Hutchison (a letter to the editor), Crusader, p. 6.

be realized in history but redemption from sin is a present reality. He says that while the fullness of God's salvation can only be realized in "Shalom," the redemption from sin is an accomplished fact.²⁹ Morikawa differentiates between the redemption from sin and the salvation of the world, claiming that the former is what God has accomplished for men individually and the latter is what God will have accomplished for men socially when he completes the process of creating "Shalom."³⁰ The redemption from sin means that God, because of Christ's saving work, will not punish men for their sinfulness but rather has forgiven them of all that they have done contrary to His will.

According to Morikawa, God has redeemed all men, whether or not they decide to accept the fact that they are redeemed. He says that personal decisions cannot alter, one way or another, the fact of redemption. What has happened to mankind is solely by the grace of God.³¹

²⁹Jitsuo Morikawa, "Dr. Morikawa's Reply," Cru-sader, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (April, 1961), p. 6; Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 62.

³⁰Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14; Allen and Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," pp. 8-9; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 60.

³¹Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 20; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 62.

Morikawa believes that to say that a man must believe the gospel in order to have his sins forgiven makes redemption a work of man, dependent upon man's action, and no longer a gift of grace:

. . .it is frequently said that while redemption is purely and solely the work of God and not of man, this isn't quite true, for there is no meaning to God's act without man's faith and response. This is a radical modification which virtually says that without man's help and participation, God's redemption of His world is an idle dream. Then faith takes on the dangerous configuration of works. Yet the Bible is explicit 'not of works lest any man should boast. . . .' The fantastic good news, contrary to all religious expectation, is that He has given unconditional pardon to the whole world. Jesus ate with publicans and sinners but not on condition that they repent and believe. . . . Jesus prayed from the cross to 'forgive them' even while they were enemies. He chose a persecutor of the faith to be a missionary. God's redemptive act is unconditional.³²

Morikawa points out that to insist upon faith as the unquestioned condition of our redemption causes us to be confronted with a serious dilemma. He claims that according to the Bible the heart of sin is unbelief. This places man in a constant struggle between belief and unbelief, with his only hope in the paradoxical truth that God accepts us despite our unbelief.³³ If faith is the condition of redemption, then sinners, for

³² Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

³³ Ibid., p. 15.

whom faith is impossible, cannot be redeemed. It is through such arguments that Morikawa contends that there must be a recovery of the objective basis of redemption which stresses what God has done and is doing for mankind by His grace.³⁴ Morikawa finds this objective basis of redemption adequately acknowledged in the theology of Barth.³⁵

³⁴Minutes of the Annual Meeting, April, 1960, Advisory Committee for the Baptist Jubilee in the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 1 (mimeographed).

³⁵Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 62, says "The monumental contribution of Karl Barth to the church is his profound insight into the meaning of redemption as accomplished reality by the act of God, true about the whole world whether recognized or not. The covenant is central to his understanding of the relation between God and man expressed in the promise and command 'I will be your God and ye shall be my people.' It would be possible, says he (Barth) and quite correct to describe the covenant fulfilled in the work of reconciliation as the heart of the subject matter of Christian faith, of the origin of Christian love, of the content of Christian hope." See, Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, IV/1, translated by G. W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), p. 3. In this same volume Barth goes on to say, "It happened for us, but it happened without us, without our cooperation or contributing. Even when the intellectual activity of our understanding and explaining cannot add to what happened and is effective. . . . By the grace of God 'he tasted death for every man.' (Heb. 2:9). He gave His life for the sheep. (Jn. 10:11). In our brother we have to see the one 'for whom Christ died.' (Rom. 14:15). All these and similar sayings are expressions to indicate the passion of Christ, expressions to indicate which certainly could be and needed to be interpreted in the ears of the New Testament Christians, but did not sound empty or obscure but filled out and very clear; not by virtue of faith as the existential reaction of these men, but by virtue of the

When it comes to determining who is worthy of going to heaven and who deserves to go to hell, Morikawa points out that if Christians are honest they will have to admit that there is not the slightest hope for any man. He explains that in Romans 3:23, it seems that all men deserve the condemnation of God and that the Christian community is not exempt from this judgment.³⁶ However, according to Morikawa, the ultimate fact of the gospel is hope and redemption through the gift of God which is for all sinners--whether they are inside or outside the Christian church.³⁷ He says that Christians must see that they are not really more worthy of God's grace than are the people who are not in the church.³⁸ He claims that both groups are poor, un-

³⁵ event itself as it happened in space and time and as it is simply indicated in these expressions." Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. by Edwyn C. Haskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 110, 182-7, warns that faith should not be a kind of work which a man does in order to embrace salvation. Faith might be regarded as a means to obtain justification and therefore be the basis of a "works salvation." Barth emphasizes the objective nature of the fact of salvation by pointing out that it is the work of God performed for all men and that the subjective emphasis of religion may be considered good from a humanist viewpoint but cannot be the means of appropriating salvation for individual men. (The translations cited above are those which were used by Morikawa in his studies of Barth. He does not read German easily and relies on translations.)

³⁶ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 6.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

profitable servants whose weakness God must forgive.³⁹ Morikawa believes that the church must confess that it, like the world, "is materialistic, a lover of comfort, a seeker of success, poisoned with prejudice and engaged in a struggle for power."⁴⁰

He points out that pious statements about "God's people," notwithstanding, there is no sharp contrast between church people and the people of the world.⁴¹

Morikawa objects to the assumption, traditionally held by Baptists, that the world is divided between the saved and the unsaved. In such a division, the saved are those who accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour; those who do not are lost. Those who are saved are members of the church. Morikawa repudiates such a division. Israel was a missionary community called out of myriads of the human race to be an instrument of blessing and hope for all mankind.⁴² He says:

But the church is not the ark of salvation. The New Testament nowhere implies that its mission is to win the whole world

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Jitsuo Morikawa, Mission to the World, An Address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Detroit, Mich., May 18, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 2 (mimeographed).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 1.

into the church any more than the Old Testament suggests that the whole world become Israel. The church is the Body of Christ. Is it conceivable that God intends the whole world to become Christ's Body?⁴³

While Morikawa declares the objective reality of redemption, he claims that he does not minimize the importance of personal decisions. Men must decide that the good news of their redemption is true if they are to feel subjectively what is objectively valid. Morikawa points out that, even though all men are redeemed, most of them are unaware of the fact.⁴⁴ Those who are unaware supposedly live with personal feelings of guilt and with anxiety of being punished for what they have been and done. He claims that such feelings of guilt and anxiety are unnecessary since God has forgiven their sin and taken away their punishment.⁴⁵ Therefore, he says, the church must continue to proclaim the gospel, which, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, can persuade men of what God has done for them and of what they are.⁴⁶

⁴³ Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2.

⁴⁴ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," pp. 2-3; Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁵ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 66.

⁴⁶ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 12-3, Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 63, 73. Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 15, Allen and Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," p. 2.

Morikawa states:

There is a vast difference between the redeemed world, unaware of its redemption, and the world that responds to this reality, ... The difference lies in faith and decision. By faith we acknowledge the truth of this reality and by the same faith live out this reality.⁴⁷

Morikawa says that, when men become aware of what God has done for them personally and when they see what God is doing for the world, they should be filled with gratitude.⁴⁸ He believes this gratitude should cause them to respond to the action of God by committing themselves to become God's obedient servants.⁴⁹ Hence the decision to accept the truth about redemption and the salvation of the world is followed by the decision for commitment to Christian service. He points out that these two decisions are not unrelated, but that the second is a grateful response to what was subjectively realized through the first.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and The Clergy," p. 66.

⁴⁸ Morikawa, "Dr. Morikawa's Reply," p. t.

⁴⁹ Jitsuo Morikawa, The Kingdom of God is the Perspective for Evangelism, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention in Valley Forge, Pa., February, 1958 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.) p. 7 (mimeographed).

⁵⁰ Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

The Traditional Function and Structure
of the Church is Called into Question
by Morikawa's Concept of Salvation

If salvation is realized in time and space and, if God's mission in the world is the creation of "Shalom," then the function of the church as traditionally understood is in need of change. Hitherto the church has functioned to proclaim the Gospel in order that men might hear it, and thus have the opportunity to make those decisions which would lead to their salvation. However, Morikawa says that whether or not men enjoy salvation is not dependent on their personal decisions and that such decisions neither lead to their redemption nor guarantee them the right to go to heaven.⁵¹ Although he thinks that proclaiming the gospel is still important, the fear of hell for the unconverted, and the promise of heaven for the converted no longer provide the urgent motivation for its proclamation.⁵² If the church wants to participate in the saving work of God then it must not spend all its energies in preparing men for heaven but rather seek to be an instru-

⁵¹ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 6.

⁵² Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 64; Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, p. 4; Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2.

ment of God for the creating of "Shalom." According to Morikawa's theology, the church must move beyond its traditional kerygmatic function (the proclamation of the gospel) and become a means of transforming society.⁵³ In Morikawa's theology the mission of the church is not to strive to bring the whole world into its membership; and its success cannot be measured in terms of number of converts won.⁵⁴ If the church will extend itself to participate in what God is doing in the social order, it can prove effective as a means of creating "Shalom" even if it does not expand numerically.⁵⁵ In the light of this theology Morikawa claims:

The church should be freed forever from the tyranny and anxiety of building a big church, whether impelled by culture of theology. American ecclesiastical culture demands growth and success. Traditional theology demands you win every man to the church. . . . The church must be freed simply to serve--freed from the anxiety to win converts and build the church.⁵⁶

⁵³ Jitsuo Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), pp. 2-8.

⁵⁴ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, p. 4; Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, June 4, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 1 (mimeographed). Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 11.

⁵⁵ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 7; Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 7.

⁵⁶ Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 11.

Before discussing the reactions of his theologically conservative critics to this line of thinking it would seem advisable to point out two of the inconsistencies in what Morikawa has said. First of all, after making a point of stressing the difference between men who acknowledge God's redemption (and thus are Christians) and those who do not make such acknowledgement (and therefore suffer needlessly from guilt and anxiety),⁵⁷ it seems strange that he should later say that it is not urgent that the church win all men to Christianity.⁵⁸ If men do not subjectively acknowledge and therefore enjoy the benefits of redemption then will they not suffer from guilt and anxiety? And if they suffer these feelings how can they "enjoy" life in "Shalom?" It seems that the unnecessary burden of guilt and anxiety borne by men who have not acknowledged the saving work of Christ should continue to move the church to try to win all men to the blessings forthcoming to them. It is interesting to note that it is when Morikawa is engaged in apologetics with the conservative members of his denomination and when he is writing for publication

⁵⁷ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 66; Allen and Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," p. 2.

⁵⁸ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2.

that he makes a point of talking about the difference between those who acknowledge and respond to the gospel and those who do not.⁵⁹ In private conferences he tends to regard the difference as insignificant.⁶⁰

Perhaps it is for the sake of expediency that he stresses this difference. It would not be the first time that a denominational executive tried to placate a disturbed constituency.

⁵⁹ Allen and Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," p. 2; Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 15; Morikawa, "Dr. Morikawa's Reply," p. 6; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 63-73.

⁶⁰ Cf. Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 6; Morikawa at least once minimized the difference between the converted and the unconverted to some of his theologically conservative critics: this occurred at the senior's conference at Green Lake, Wisconsin in 1962. At that conference he also stated that the church should neither expect to win all men to Christianity nor function primarily for that purpose. (Morikawa's statement is published in "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," and "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community,"). It is interesting to note that these statements made at the senior's conference met with violent opposition and almost brought about his dismissal from denominational office (see Chapter I). Perhaps experiences like these have made him reluctant to state such opinions. A controversy on this point could hinder the promotion of his program for restructuring the church. Morikawa acknowledges that to some extent this has already happened and he goes on to say that he has tried to keep his program from being sidetracked by this issue. Cf. Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of the Baptist Jubilee Advance, 1959-1964, October 1, 1963, Valley Forge, Pa., (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 100 (mimeographed).

Secondly, it seems strange that one who called the European churches failures because their pews were empty at worship services,⁶¹ should claim that numbers of members are no criteria for measuring success. It appears that when he wants to call the traditional church structure into question he points to a decline in church membership as evidence of its failure, but when he wants to justify his own program to the critics who say that it has not led to membership gains, he then claims that numbers do not measure success. It might be that Morikawa's theological statements are a rationalization for his program for restructuring the church.

⁶¹ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 10

CHAPTER VIII

MORIKAWA'S ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY, THE CONDITION OF THE WORLD AND HOW THE CHURCH SHOULD FUNCTION IT

It has been pointed out that Morikawa believes that a functionally fit church can be properly developed by analyzing society in order to discover its needs (i.e., functional requisites) and then structuring the church to serve these needs. It has also been noted that his theological ideas about salvation could conceivably make American Baptists receptive to changes in the function and structure of the church. The next step in the study is a discussion of his analysis of society and a description of how, in the light of his analysis, he thinks the church should function.

Morikawa's Analysis of Society

In accordance with the ideas of Oscar Cullman,¹ D. T. Niles² and some of the many study papers produced

¹Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), pp. 139-144.

²D. T. Niles, That They May Have Life (New York: Harper and Bros., 1952), p. 21, D. T. Niles, The Preacher's Task and the Stone of Stumbling (New York:

by the World Council of Churches,³ Morikawa believes that the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus marked a decisive victory which God won over His enemies in the world. These enemies are evil "principalities and powers" which have held the world under their control since its creation.⁴ Morikawa offers little explanation as to whether these "principalities and powers" are personalities like the demons described in primitive theologies, or impersonal social or psychological factors with which contemporary social scientists might be concerned. However, implications drawn from an overall view of his theology would suggest that the

²Harper and Bros., 1958), pp. 20-30; D. T. Niles, "The Evangelistic Situation," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, Vol. XV, No. 2 (January, 1960), p. 112.

³Preparatory Papers for World Council of Churches Consultation on Evangelism, March 19-25, 1958 (copies are available at the offices of the National Council of Churches, Riverside Drive, N.Y.). These papers were expanded and published by D. T. Niles and Theodore O. Wedel. See, A Theological Reflection on the Work of Evangelism (Geneva, Switzerland: Department on Studies in Evangelism, Division of Studies, World Council of Churches, 1963).

⁴Jitsuo Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, June 4, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4 (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," Leaven, (ed.), Paul O Madsen (Valley Forge, Pa.: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1962), p. 60f.; Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1961), pp. 11-12.

latter of these two possibilities is probably that to which he is referring.

Morikawa asserts that the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ have brought about a change in the history of mankind and that, since these events, the world is being brought under the lordship of Christ.⁵ Just how they have altered the course of human history is not spelled out by Morikawa with sufficient detail to be dealt with specifically or concretely in this explanation. He says that the events surrounding a particular carpenter, from Nazareth have ushered in a new era for mankind but he does not say how they have been responsible for such a significant historical development.

Morikawa points out that in any way or conflict there is one battle which determines the ultimate outcome of the struggle. Once that battle has been won, the victor can move forward with an assurance that in the end he shall establish his control over that which he has won. Morikawa, like Cullmann, points to the cross and resurrection and declares these events to be

⁵ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, A part of Morikawa's consultation with directors of evangelism of the East and East Central regions of the United States, held in Chicago, Illinois, December 5-6, 1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 7 (mimeographed). Jisuo Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XIV, No. 10 (October, 1961), p. 14.

the decisive victory which God has won over sin and death. In the death and resurrection of Christ, the evil forces in the world, (i.e., "principalities and powers") were decisively defeated and their eventual annihilation was assured. Those who believe this gospel live in hope which envisions the world delivered from these evil forces and His Lordship established throughout the world (cosmos).⁶ The outcome of the war between God and the powers of evil, which to Morikawa, is so much a part of the fabric of history, has been decided by what happened to Christ, and though the warfare continues, its outcome is a foregone conclusion.⁷

At this point Morikawa stresses that, although the decisive battle has been fought and won, the end of the war has not yet come. Even as there was much struggling, conflict, and suffering between "D day" (the day of the decisive battle) and "V day" (the day when total victory became a realized event) in the Second World War, so there is struggling, conflict and suffering between God's D Day (the resurrection of Christ) and V day (the eschaton).⁸

⁶ Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 14.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1961).

God is still engaged in a struggle, but the powers he wars against are defeated powers. There are vestiges of the former "principalities and powers" still abroad in the world but Morikawa maintains that they are defeated powers and that their days for raising havoc are numbered. He believes that it is only a matter of time until these evil powers will be absolutely subdued and all the inhabitants of the world will acknowledge their victorious new king. To support his case he quotes the scripture which says, "He must reign until He has put all powers under His feet," and "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that He is Lord."⁹

The good news which the church can declare to the world is that God's creation which had fallen under the alien powers of sin and death, is being made into "Shalom." Morikawa teaches that Christ has paid the price of victory over evil powers and that the world

⁸ p. 32; Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 1 (November, 1963), pp. 2-3. The "D-day" and "V-day" model which Morikawa adopts from Christ and Time by Oscar Cullmann, (see Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 7), originated with Phillippe Maury, Secretary of the World Christian Student Federation, a former French underground resistance fighter during the Nazi occupation of France. Maury says that as soon as the landing of the allied troops in Normandy had succeeded he knew the decisive victory was won; but the French were still under Nazi control.

⁹ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 4., I Cor. 15:25, Phila. 2:10.

is being delivered from their control. He believes history to be filled with purposeful meaning which can be discerned when what happened at the cross is understood. For him there is a Christian philosophy of history in terms of which the church can declare the destiny of creation to be the coming of "Shalom."¹⁰ He urges those who have already recognized what is happening in society to point the rest of the world to the evidences of Christ's new reign which are everywhere emerging within the context of history.¹¹

Morikawa understands contemporary history to be the story of the emergence of the "Shalom" which was initiated by Christ and is being brought to culmination by Him. He teaches that the Bible can help Christians to understand this good news and to declare to others that society is being "saved" by God.¹² This "joyfully victorious situation" between God's D day and V day is the situation in which the church func-

¹⁰Jitsuo Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., May 1, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.O, p. 2 (mimeographed).

¹¹Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 3; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 66-7; Jitsuo Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," Missions (September, 1961), pp. 20-21.

¹²Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, p. 2.

tions. The church is part of a society which is being changed into "Shalom."

Morikawa explains that "between the times" of the resurrection of Christ and the eschaton, God is on a mission in the world, bringing His salvation for mankind to fulfillment. Salvation for the world is not something which the church can bring about through its own efforts, but rather is the mission of God and is dependent upon His activity. According to Morikawa the establishment of "Shalom" is a task which God himself fulfills and at the most the church can only participate with Him in what He is doing.¹³

The footnote references to what has been said thus far about Morikawa's analysis of the condition of the world indicate that he borrows largely from the theologies prevalent in Europe following World War II. In spite of his claim that a sociological analysis of the world is an essential prerequisite to designing a functionally fit structure for the church, this analysis lacks a sociological character. Robert K. Merton explains that a sociological analysis begins with the

¹³Jitsuo Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), pp. 10-11. Up to this point in our discussion the reader will recognize in the ideas of Morikawa a similarity to the theology prevalent in Europe prior to, and immediately after World War II. These ideas can be discussed in the works of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Oscar Cullmann.

observation of "empirical data" (i.e., human behavior patterns, the interaction of social institutions, the structure of the social situation). Such data provides hints from which the social scientists create hypotheses which explain the data, and then these hypotheses are subjected to empirical tests which confirm or refute them.¹⁴ Morikawa's analysis of society lacks these features.

Morikawa does demonstrate that he is aware of what some sociologists are saying about society. He knows that men live a significant part of their lives in communities other than the residential community and that the church is not structured to function in these other communities.¹⁵ He is aware of the process of urbanization through which a significant number of the

¹⁴Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 102-17.

¹⁵Jitsuo Morikawa, Mission to the World, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Detroit, Michigan, May 18, 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.) p. 4 (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, The Baptist Jubilee Report to the American Baptist Convention, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., May 19, 1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.) p. 4 (mimeographed). This analysis has been common among sociologists since F. Tonnies, Community and Society (East Lansing, Mich.: The Michigan State University Press, 1957), pp. 90-110, presented it in 1887.

nations are going.¹⁶ He recognizes some of the changes in the attitudes and thought patterns of people who live in a society which increasingly regards the world from a positivistic point of view rather than from a metaphysical point of view.¹⁷

It seems that Morikawa uses one description of the world to show the traditional church structure to be dysfunctional and another to provide a basis for his proposed function and structure. He does not give sociological factors serious consideration in his description of the social situation in which the contemporary church must function. He sets forth a statement which might be derived from Biblical theology, but is unlikely to be derived from sociological analyses.

¹⁶Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 53; Jitsuo Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, A study paper prepared for the use of the staff of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, Valley Forge, Pa., 1963) (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 2-3 (mimeographed). A representative of the sociologists who express this point of view is Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanization of the Human Population," Scientific American, Vol. 213, No. 3 (September, 1965), pp. 40-53.

¹⁷Jitsuo Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, A paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., February 20, 1962 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 9-11 (mimeographed). Sociological confirmation for this point can be found in Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Religion and Society (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 23-24.

His conclusion that society is becoming "Shalom" has not been reached through the employment of the methodology of social scientists. There is no evidence that this conclusion is the result of investigations carried out in the style which he recommends and calls "action-reflection." Morikawa might be asked if any sociologist, after studying society, has announced to some learned group like the American Sociological Society that he has noted the emergence of "Shalom." It would be interesting to ask him which of the contemporary writers, poets, playwrights, or painters to whom he has suggested we turn for insights into the nature of society, have given confirmation to his optimistic assertions about society.

Morikawa sees in social revolutions, technological innovations, peace marches, and public demonstrations for integration, the evidences of the coming of "Shalom."¹⁸ But not all of the results of these things fit into Morikawa's pattern. Social revolutions have led to war, technological innovations have led to atomic bombs, peace marches have ended in mob violence, and demonstrations have led to riots. How do these things fit in with the emergence of "Shalom"? Morikawa might suggest that these latter results are the

¹⁸ Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," pp. 20-21.

work of those defeated but still active "principalities and powers." However, such a suggestion, while difficult to disprove would seem to take the events of this world with as little seriousness as did the liberal theology of the earlier part of the century, or the conservative theology of his critics. To say that the evil in this world is in the process of being annihilated is to make a statement of faith and hope typical of an American optimist, but unsubstantiated by sociological observation.

The Functions the Church Should Fulfill in the Modern Urban World

Following his conclusion that society is being transformed by God into "Shalom", Morikawa goes on to propose that the church can be functionally fit for society if it participates in what God is doing.¹⁹ He believes that the church, though unable to bring about this new kind of society itself, can function as one means to that end. As society is in the process of

¹⁹ Jitsuo Morikawa, The Kingdom of God is the Perspective for Evangelism, A study paper delivered to the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., February, 1958 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 1-7 (mimeographed). Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, p. 3; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 74.

being transformed, there are certain functional requisites which the church can fulfill. Morikawa outlines what he thinks the church could do to help society through its transition to "Shalom" by utilizing a scheme which he adopted from J. C. Hoekendijk. This scheme sums up the functions of the church under three titles: diakonic (service), koinoniac (fellowship) and kerygmatic proclamation).²⁰

His discussions of the diakonic function of the church have been influenced heavily by Hendrick Kraemer,²¹ and other leaders of the World Council of Churches.²²

²⁰ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, p. 4, acknowledges his source for these ideas to be J. C. Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXIX (April, 1950), pp. 171ff; J. C. Hoekendijk, "The Evangelization of Man in Modern Mass Society," Ecumenical Review, Vol. II, No. 2 (Winter, 1950), p. 138.

²¹ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 5; Morikawa in a personal conversation with the author cited Hendrick Kraemer, The Communication of the Christian Faith (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950), as exerting great influence upon him in this area of his thinking. However, personal consultations with Kraemer were even more decisive in determining Morikawa's favorable attitude toward Kraemer's beliefs concerning the "suffering servant" concept. Morikawa had the opportunity to have conversations with Kraemer during a four day conference held at the YMCA Retreat Center, Frost Valley, N.J., May, 1960.

²² Cf. J. C. Hoekendijk, "The Evangelization of Man in Modern Mass Society," (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1949), Visser't Hooft, The Renewal of the Church (London: S.C.M. Press, 1956). Morikawa in personal conversation with the author on February 10, 1966 at his office in Phila., Pa., claimed these books as some of the sources of his thinking on this matter.

Like them, Morikawa believes that to fulfill this function the church must become God's "suffering servant" for the world.²³ He says:

The church must recover her basic nature as a self-giving body, which finds her life by surrendering it even unto death. . . . This means for the church to involve herself, to give herself in redemptive mission, no matter the cost, with fearless forthrightness, projecting her life into those areas of human need terribly dangerous and disturbing to the church.²⁴

Morikawa claims that a clear understanding of the Bible will show that the church is called to serve the world by laying down its life, and sacrificing all that it has, on behalf of the world.²⁵ He believes that by sacrificially giving itself to help the world to become what God wants it to be, the church can fulfill its diakonic function. He claims that the church has failed to assume this role, but instead has tried to get the world to serve its needs. The church most often regards the world as a possible source of new members to swell its ranks, and of money to build its buildings and pay

²³ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, p. 5.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Morikawa, The Kingdom of God is the Persepctive for Evangelism, p. 19. It is interesting to note that Morikawa states that a clear understanding of the Bible will show that the church should function in this manner. This seems contrary to Morikawa's ideas that the functions of the church should be the result of a clear understanding of society.

its staff. He decries the attitude of denominational officials when they have sought to build churches only in those places where there is "a high potential for church support." According to Morikawa the church should not be seeking the support of the world but should be trying to sacrificially serve its needs.²⁶

One way in which Morikawa believes that the church can carry out its diakonic functions is to fulfill its prophetic ministry. By this he means that the church can expose the evils of the social system and call for their eradication. He thinks that the church can discern what is wrong or unjust in specific social practices and arouse concern for the reform of such practices.²⁷ Morikawa says that the church, in order to gain the support of some of its members, or potential members, has often served as the guardian of the social status quo instead of the avant-garde of the changes which would establish "Shalom."²⁸ For this same reason he thinks the church has at times sanctioned

²⁶ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 74-75; Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1964), p. 11; Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 12.

²⁷ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 75.

²⁸ Jitsuo Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 1.

or ignored some of the sins of society.²⁹

For example, Morikawa thinks that it has been among the responsibilities of the church to point out the evils of racial segregation and to urge the abolition of the practice. However, he believes that the church has failed to fulfill such functions because it has been afraid of losing the support of some of its members. Being more concerned about the number of persons in its congregations and the amount of money in its offerings than about being God's "suffering servants" for the world has, according to Morikawa, led the church to be excessively cautious about taking a stand on such social issues.³⁰

Morikawa also thinks that the church should serve society by helping to Christianize its institutions. By this he means that the church should try to help social institutions to function in accord with the will of God. In order to do this he believes that the church should lend its support to institutions when they contribute to the welfare of society and oppose them when their activities are detrimental to society.³¹

²⁹ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, pp. 5-8.

³⁰ Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 1.

³¹ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 71-72.

For example, if a government is developing such programs as help for the underprivileged, education, and good relations between races, then the church should support the government not only by its influence but by encouraging its members to participate in these programs.³² On the other hand, if a government is acting in such a way as to deny men their rights, suppress the truth, or perpetuate racial prejudices, then the church ought to voice its objections, and take steps to have the government changed and its evil practices stopped. Such actions might lead the church to encourage its members to join in social revolutions or in civil disobedience.³³ Not only government, but all of the social institutions should be brought to function in accord with the will of God and thus become Christianized. As the church tries to help these institutions through such changes Morikawa says that it is ministering to the power structures of society.³⁴

Morikawa has often implied that God's mission in the world is not being carried out solely through

³² Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," pp. 20-21.

³³ Ibid. Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 2; Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 67.

³⁴ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 7; Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, pp. 2, 4.

the church. Such an idea brings him into conflict with many of the more conservative members of his denomination. Those who interpret salvation as deliverance from the punishment of hell into the bliss of heaven, and who believe that the purposes of God for the world are fulfilled by the conversion of men to Christianity find it hard to envision God's using instruments other than the church to carry out His mission.³⁵

In answer to these opponents, Morikawa claims that God is at work outside the structure of the institutional church and that God's work is in no way confined to its activities. He sees God at work in many of the social and technological revolutions of

³⁵ These opponents have expressed their viewpoints in many letters addressed to Jitsuo Morikawa. Such letters are in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies. Among the most well known of these opponents is J. Lester Harnish, president of the American Baptist Convention for 1964-1965. Harnish expressed his convictions on this matter in his presidential address to the American Baptist Convention. See Lester Harnish, The Harvest of the Spirit, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in San Francisco, California, May 23, 1965 (in the files of Executive Secretary of the American Baptist Convention, pp. 1-7). (mimeographed). Among American Baptist seminary professors, Dr. Leland Hine of California Baptist Seminary, expresses a similar opposition to Morikawa on this point. His opposition was expressed in an address at the 1965 American Baptist Theological Conference, Green Lake, Wisconsin. The address was made part of a report on the conference in one of the Baptist journals: Lawrence T. Slaght, "Worship in a Secular Age," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 53, No. 16 (August 12, 1965), p. 586.

the day.³⁶ He believes that God is working through governments, labor unions, and industrial firms, as He brings about His "Shalom."³⁷ He believes God is using civil rights movements, labor relations boards, fair housing councils, and human relations organizations to bring about the reconciliation of humanity.³⁸ He is convinced that God can use these groups just as effectively as He can the church.³⁹

Morikawa believes that the awareness that God is at work in the world through institutions and movements other than the church should be a cause for joyful hope, rather than a cause for objection on the part of Christians. He believes that this concept could give to the church a hope for the salvation of the world that would not be possible if the work of God were carried on only by the church. The church, ac-

³⁶ Morikawa, The Shape and the Church for the Missionary Action, p. 7. Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and the Christian Witness," pp. 20-21.

³⁷ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 2.

³⁸ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 11. Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and the Christian Witness," pp. 20-21.

³⁹ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 11, Jitsuo Morikawa, The Baptist Jubilee Report to the American Baptist Convention, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Atlantic City, N.J., May 19, 1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 5 (mimeographed).

ording to Morikawa, has neither effectively influenced the world, nor carried out its mission for the world.⁴⁰ But the failures of the church, he says, do not mean that God's salvation for the world cannot become a reality. Instead, he points out, the church can look at its limited efforts and know that they are part of the larger work of God. This belief could help the church to persevere in spite of its disappointments, by providing the certainty that its work is not in vain.⁴¹ On the other hand, he explains, this belief could keep the church from a sinful pride which might cause it to overestimate the value of what it achieves on earth.⁴²

It is Morikawa's belief that the missionaries which the church sends into the world do not take God to places where He is not--as pietistic theology often affirms. Rather, he says, the church goes where God is already at work and simply joins Him in what He is doing.⁴³ He believes that there is no place in the

⁴⁰ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 1.

⁴¹ Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, p. 5.

⁴² Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 11.

⁴³ Jitsuo Morikawa, Church in the World, An Address prepared for the New Jersey Baptist Convention meeting in Ocena City, N.J., Sept. 26, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 3 (mimeographed). Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, pp. 4-5.

world where God is not already acting through social movements and in historical events. When the church discerns the events and movements in which God is acting, it should declare to the people of the world that what is occurring through them is God's doing.

Morikawa's concept of the diakonic function of the church for a world that is being transformed into "Shalom" might evoke some questions from sociologists, for example: By what means does society get changed into "Shalom?" "What specifically should the church do to foster such change?; Is there some particular theory of social change which fits in this scheme of things? Some sociologists have interpreted social change to be the result of technological developments,⁴⁴ some as the result of population movements,⁴⁵ and some as the result of charismatic personalities and great ideas.⁴⁶ However, Morikawa says nothing specific about how the process of social change occurs. It is not

⁴⁴ Cf. Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, translated and edited by T. B. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 51-66.

⁴⁵ Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, translated by Joseph Ward Swain (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 25-75.

⁴⁶ Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, edited and translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 358-372.

enough for Christians to be told to get involved in various movements and institutions and thus participate in God's mission in history. They must know specifically what they are to do, and this knowledge is dependent upon a knowledge of the means by which God causes social change. But since Morikawa has not given even a limited explanation of the means by which God brings about social changes, he remains ambiguous in his description of the diakonic function. "Serve the World;" "Help the World become 'Shalom';" "Minister to the needs of society;" are all very general instructions. When Christians understand how their activities can be helpfully related to social change, deliberate fulfillment of the diakonic function can be brought about.

Another way in which the church can participate in God's mission in the world is through its koinoniac function. Morikawa thinks that through the kind of life lived among the interacting members of the church, there can be a demonstration of the "Shalom" which God intends for the world.⁴⁷ He follows the leading of J. C. Hoekendijk, who says Koinonia is the place where "Shalom" is already lived. As such it belongs to the

⁴⁷Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 3.

new age.⁴⁸ In this sense the church should be a present example of what the world ultimately will become. He believes that the church should demonstrate the new relationships which men will have with one another.⁴⁹ He believes that the national, economic, social and racial divisions which have always separated men should not exist in this manifestation of life in "Shalom."⁵⁰ The unity of mankind, which shall be for the whole world, should be already present within the church. Thus, he teaches that the church is meant to be related to the kerygma, for it should declare by demonstration what God is bringing to pass for all mankind.⁵¹ During the years of the Baptist Jubilee Advance, Harvey Cox served as an associate on Morikawa's staff. Cox effectively illustrated what Morikawa endeavors to explain about the church's koinoniac role:

Shortly after the Communists came to power in Poland in 1945, they constructed a spanking new model city. They named it Nova Huta (New City). Replete with ver-

⁴⁸ Morikawa, Ibid.; expresses this idea which he takes from Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," p. 173.

⁴⁹ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Morikawa, Mission to the World, p. 3; Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 3.

⁵¹ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 2; Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 57; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 70.

dant parks, spotless day nurseries, and gleaming sport and cultural facilities, Nova Huta was designed to serve as a visual embodiment of the direction of history as the Communists envisioned it. It was the embodiment of the dialectic in its fulfillment, a living demonstration of what the Communists had been working for. The people to live in Nova Huta were selected on the basis of their 'ideological maturity' and freedom from the remnants of so-called bourgeois attitudes. It was clearly designated to be a Communist equivalent of a 'sign of the Kingdom.'⁵²

Morikawa believes that the church should fulfill this kind of function for the world. It should be the living demonstration of the direction of history and all that God is bringing to pass.

Morikawa says that when he examines the contemporary Christian church, he finds it to be generally unfaithful to its koinoniac function. He says that the church is not serving as a manifestation of the nature of God's "Shalom." He claims to discover the same divisions in the church that exist in that part of the world which has not yet acknowledged the Lordship of Christ.⁵³

Due to his emphasis upon unity as a mark of the properly functioning church Morikawa stands as a strong supporter of the ecumenical movement. He feels that

⁵² Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan Press, 1965), pp. 145-146.

⁵³ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 82; Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 2.

denominational divisions, like other kinds of divisions, are a denial of the true nature of the church and a contradiction of its koinoniac function. The demonstration of "Shalom" can never be a denominational affair, says Morikawa, because such a framework hinders the world's understanding of it.⁵⁴ He claims that the world is confused by the divisions of the church, mocks its competitive groupings, and finds it hard to accept the message about the new humanity in "Shalom" when it is declared by a fragmental church.⁵⁵

According to Morikawa, the fulfillment of the koinoniac function greatly affects the ability of the church to fulfill its diakonic function. He says that the church as a participant in God's mission in the world is charged with the responsibility to support the work which God is doing outside the church.⁵⁶ But in order to carry out this part of its diakonic function the church must first discern in which of the manifold events and social movements God is working to establish "Shalom."⁵⁷ Morikawa says that the

⁵⁴ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," pp. 3, 7.

⁵⁶ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 71-72.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Holy Spirit can help Christians to develop this kind of discernment but that his help can only be given in the context of a church fellowship which reflects "Shalom." He says:

It is in the light of their (i.e., Christians) experience of the redeemed world in the church that they are enabled to be the church of the world. The He in the church enables the laity to see reflections of redemptive reality, true of the world but hidden and unrevealed because unrecognized and unacknowledged. It enables the layman to discern this hidden reality in the world having seen the reality in manifestation in the church. Seeing the signs in the church trains eyes to see beyond the outward man the inward reality wrought by Christ. . . . For after all, the church is that place in the world where the redemption wrought for the world is recognized, to enable the community to understand what God has done for the whole world, enabling it to proclaim the good news not only by word and deed but by the way it treats the world.⁵⁸

However, Morikawa goes on to point out that because the church has failed to be a manifestation of "Shalom," Christians have been hindered in discovering how God is working in the world.⁵⁹ If they cannot understand the nature of "Shalom" within the church how can they be expected to discern the evidences of "Shalom" in the activities and movements of society? According to

⁵⁸ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 71-72.

⁵⁹ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 57.

Morikawa, the ability of Christians to understand what God is doing in society is in part determined by whether or not the church itself is what it should be.⁶⁰

The third function of the church, according to the scheme which Morikawa has borrowed from Hoekendijk, is the kerygmatic function. Morikawa explains that the function of proclaiming the gospel is still suitable for the modern world, but the purposes which he proposes for this function differ from those which it has served in traditional Baptist theology. In traditional Baptist theology the proclamation of the gospel has provided the conditions under which "sinners" might be converted. In Morikawa's system, the gospel is proclaimed in order that men, knowing of their redemption and of what God is doing to the whole world, might live in joy and, out of gratitude, join the work of His mission.⁶¹

Morikawa says that in traditional theology the gospel has been proclaimed in order that men might become something other than they are. But he believes that the gospel ought to be proclaimed in order that men might realize what has already happened to them by

⁶⁰ Morikawa, A Theological Engagement, p. 3.

⁶¹ Paul C. Allen and Jitsuo Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1961), pp. 2, 8-9. Morikawa, "A Theology of Evangelism," p. 15.

the grace of God.⁶² The gospel, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, is able to convince men of their redemption and free them from their guilt and anxieties. He says that for men to live as though they were not redeemed is to live a lie.⁶³ According to Morikawa, men need to be convinced of the gospel so that they can realize what God has done for them and made them to be. He says that individual men need to know the following message:

A new beginning has come by which men are freed, liberated, enabled to become authentically human. Therefore, the age has come when the prisoners are freed from prison, where the habit-bound are liberated from their habits. The proclamation of the good news is you are freed from your destitution into living like a human being.⁶⁴

Another reason the kerygmatic function is important is that it can serve as the means to enlist men into the servant ministry of the church. He says that when men realize what has happened to them and is presently happening to their world, feelings of gratitude will be aroused within them.⁶⁵

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁴ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Morikawa, "A Theology for Evangelism," pp. 5-8.

According to Morikawa the kerygmatic function of the church also has been hindered by the failure of the church to fulfill its koinoniac function. The church should demonstrate the "Shalom" which it proclaims to be the future of the world. Because the church has failed to be what it should be its kerygmatic function has lost some of its effectiveness.⁶⁶

No visible reality testifies so powerfully to the gospel of reconciliation as a loving reconciled community. And no glaring spectacle more successfully denies the gospel of our Lord than an unreconciled, unloving, divided church. . . . The only gospel most men see is what they see in agents of reconciliation. And they embarrass us by asking, 'Is the church less divided than the nations, less segregated than secular society, less partisan than politics? Does it provoke less animus than civil strife, is it less competitive than business?'. . . . Unity and mission are inseparable. When we fail to manifest this sign of conversion we have lost the right to be heard.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 2; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 82.

⁶⁷ Morikawa, Mission to the World, pp. 2-3.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH STRUCTURE WHICH MORIKAWA DESIGNATES FOR THE MODERN URBAN SOCIETY

Morikawa claims that a structural reformation is essential for the church if it is to participate in what God is doing in the world.¹ He believes that the present structure constitutes withdrawal from the world and that through this withdrawal the church becomes a world unto itself.² He agrees with Hans-Ruedi Weber's contention that, "This new vision of the world and the church's task in it (which many believe to be the old Biblical vision) implies a Copernican change in our church-centric thinking."³

¹Jitsuo Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, A study paper prepared for the use of the staff of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, Valley Forge, Pa., 1963 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies,) p. 10 (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, June 4, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 6.

²Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," Leaven (ed.) Paul O. Madsen (Valley Forge, Pa.: American Baptist Mission Societies, 1962), pp. 72-3.

³Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," pp. 72-3. This quote was taken from what Weber stated in the Preparatory Papers for the World

Morikawa accepts this challenge for change and then describes specific ways in which the structure of the church should be altered to make it functionally fit for the modern urban world. In this chapter we will examine these proposed alterations and seek to determine whether or not they will enable the church to meet the functional requisites of society. That which follows is a description of Morikawa's concept of the structure for the church--an explanation of what he thinks the church should be.

The Church Should be Structured to Function in All Sectors of Society

We have indicated that one of the reasons that Morikawa was dissatisfied with the traditional structure of the church was that it could only function in residential communities. He thinks that the church should be structured to function in all sectors of the society. In order to participate in God's mission for the whole world the church should be structured to exist in all social institutions. His answer to this

³Council of Churches Consultation on Evangelism, March 19-25, 1958 (on file at the offices of the National Council of Churches, New York). These papers were expanded, edited and published by D. T. Niles and Theodore O. Wedel. See, A Theological Reflection on the Work of Evangelism (Geneva: Switzerland: Department of Studies in Evangelism, Division of Studies, World Council of Churches, 1963).

requirement is in part taken from J. C. Hoekendijk who wrote, "In a modern and complex society the mission of 'Shalom' can only be adequately fulfilled by small, open flexible mobile groups."⁴ Morikawa suggests that Christians be organized into small groups which could function in the various sectors of the social structure. Such groups might bring together people who share common vocational interests. One group might be employees of a factory, another the faculty members of some school district, a third might be the fellows of a medical association, a fourth might be members of a political party, a fifth the mothers of a residential community, etc.⁵

In urging the church to reorganize into multiple cellular units Morikawa follows many of the ideas of Haus-Ruedi Weber who called such units "house churches."⁶

⁴J. C. Hoekendijk, Address to the Ecumenical Youth Assembly in Europe, Lausanne, 1960 (in the files of the National Council of Churches, New York). Morikawa cites this passage from Hoekendijk's address in "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 75. This is just one example of the many ways in which the leaders of the World Council of Churches have exerted an influence on Morikawa's thinking.

⁵Morikawa, The Shape of the Church in Missionary Action, pp. 9-10.

⁶Ibid., Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Clergy and the Laity," p. 76. Morikawa cites Weber as his source for the idea of the "house-church." See, H. R. Weber "The Church in the House," Laity, Vol. III (April, 1957), pp. 38-57. However the idea was common to Scottish and English churchmen prior to Weber's discussion of it.

He proposes that each of these units could meet to discuss the ways in which its members can participate in God's mission in the places where they work. Such groups might serve as agents of reconciliation when conflicts arise in those places. They could try to understand how God is at work within their vocational areas, consider ways to point out His activity to others and invite others to participate in what God is doing.⁷

These groups could come together to solve particular problems in their social situations (i.e., racial dis-

⁶ E. W. Southcott had been attempting experiments with this type of church structure as early as 1943: see, E. W. Southcott, The Parish Comes Alive (London: Morehouse-Gorham, 1957), pp. 50ff; also, E. W. Southcott, "House-Church in Halton, Leeds," Laity, Vol. III, (April, 1957), pp. 59-62. Weber, in discussing the idea in the above article, refers to J. A. T. Robinson as one of its basic sources: see, J. A. T. Robinson, "The House Church and Parish Church," Theology, Vol. LIII, No. 362 (August, 1950), pp. 283-9. Among others sources of the idea are S. M. Shoemaker, The Church Alive (New York: Dutton Press, 1950), The Evanston Report, edited by W. A. Visser't Hooft (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1955), pp. 104-5, R. Lloyd, "Infectious Christians Cell," World Dominion, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (January-February, 1950), pp. 15-18, E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), p. 225.

⁷ Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, pp. 8-10; Jitsuo Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1961), p. 45; Paul C. Allen and Jitsuo Morikawa, "American Baptists and Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1961), p. 10; Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 79.

crimination in hiring practices).⁸ The members of such groups after solving a particular problem might disband and make themselves available for membership in other groups which could then serve to meet other needs (i.e., functional requisites).⁹

Morikawa does make a point of stressing Weber's belief that these "house-church" units do not necessarily mean the abolition of the traditional type of church structure. This could still be used for the people of residential communities to gather for worship and fellowship. However, if the church is to permit mobility and flexibility, Morikawa says that there must be a proper rhythm for church life. He regards the most effective rhythmic movement of the church to be that of alternately "gathering and scattering."¹⁰ He believes that the gathering together for worship and fellowship within the traditional structure could help Christians to mature spiritually and have the direction, strength and encouragement they need when they are scattered as small groups to render service in the world.¹¹ As a gathered community the church could,

⁸ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 2.

⁹ Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ Morikawa, Pastors for a/Servant People, p. 48.

¹¹ Ibid.

demonstrate the real destiny of the world, and as small groups it could work toward the establishment of "Shalom." Morikawa says that the church has sometimes forgotten that the purpose of gathering together is to equip the members for serving the world.¹² He says:

To become released from the bondage of identifying the church mainly with a gathering, perhaps the needed reformation and radical change is to think of the church as mainly disseminated in the world where the real battles of faith are fought. Then the gathering should be seen in the light of the scattering, meeting from time to time for corporate worship and study.¹³

Morikawa thinks the traditional structure might survive if it adopted this function.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Morikawa adopts these ideas from experimental church projects in England and Europe. He assumes that what might function in those places might also be functional in the American situation. He fails to consider the possibility of serious differences between the culture of the American

¹² Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 70; Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, pp. 6-7.

¹³ Theological Discussion Evoked by Film on Poverty, Part of Morikawa's consultation with directors of evangelism of the East and East Central regions of the United States, held in Chicago, Ill., December 5-6, 1964 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 4 (mimeographed).

¹⁴ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 39-42. This idea from Weber, "The Church in the House," p. 18.

Society and that of Europe and the British Isles.

Sociologists would quickly point out that the cultural situations of these settings are sufficiently diverse to make Morikawa's assumption highly questionable. Although he claims to be concerned about sociological factors in formulating his programs,¹⁵ Morikawa does not seem to have given sufficient attention to such factors in his suggestion of "house-churches." Maybe they will work in America, but there is little sociological evidence to support the belief that they will be as functional as Morikawa claims.

A possible consequence of following his plan to structure the church along vocational lines is that it could create further divisiveness among Christians. Since vocation is a major determinant of social class,¹⁶ it seems that following his plan could encourage class distinctions among these various groups. A group whose members followed a vocation of high social prestige might develop an attitude of superiority toward a group whose occupation was regarded as socially lower.

¹⁵ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, p. 24; Jitsuo Morikawa, Goals for National Program, A study paper prepared for the staff of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S. meeting in Valley Forge, Pa., April 10, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 1-2 (mimeographed).

¹⁶ W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), pp. 132-142.

Each of these groups might develop traditions and doctrines which would be related to its particular vocation, and once established these traditions and doctrines could make unity among the groups difficult to achieve. The different vocational interests and social class distinctions among the groups would probably result in each group's desiring a different form of worship. It seems unlikely that people from these various house churches could worship harmoniously in one fellowship on Sunday.

What would Morikawa's plan do to his own fond hopes of ecumenicity? Could the church, so organized, still present to the world a unity which would demonstrate the spirit of "Shalom?" It seems that his hope for a unified church would be threatened if the church were restructured according to his design.

The Role of the Laity in Morikawa's Plan

Morikawa points out that it is necessary for the church to fulfill its function through its laymen. He says that clergymen are removed from those spheres of life where the Christian ministry is needed most because they are not present in the work-a-day factories, offices, political structures, and educational institutions. Therefore, explains Morikawa, if the needs

which arise in these situations are to be met they must be met through those who are on the scene--the laymen.¹⁷ To Morikawa this means that the church should rediscover the reformation doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. He says that all men are called to be ministers.¹⁸

It is Morikawa's claim that the church has been misusing the laity "by simply making them helpers of the clergy, in the housekeeping functions of the church."¹⁹ He claims that the church invites men to share in a Christian revolution, and when men heed the challenge, it gives them such jobs as serving as ushers, singing in choirs, and serving on church boards. Morikawa does not deny the importance of these activities; he simply says that these are not the primary ways in which the laity should participate in God's mission. He says that such activity is service for the church, and the church should not seek to be served, but should challenge its lay members to be of service to the world. The manpower of the laity, according to Morikawa, is not to be used up in the institutional church.²⁰

¹⁷ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 13-17.

¹⁸ Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, p. 6.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Jitsuo Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), p. 14.

The clergy still maintain a role of importance in Morikawa's plan for they help to train the laity for their ministry in the world. It is the task of the clergy to assist the laity in their efforts to carry out the diakonic function of the church in the arenas of the common life. The clergy are to educate the laity biblically and theologically so that they can interpret their activities in accord with the will of God. Clergymen are to be research specialists who can cast insights from scripture upon the issues which the laity confront in their everyday experiences. Morikawa says that in this role, clergymen do not solve the problems and difficulties which are faced by the church laymen, but simply assist those who are engaged in such struggles. Clergymen could stimulate layment to organize house churches and serve these groups as theological resource advisors.²¹ Of the role of the clergyman, Morikawa says:

. . . his role becomes specialized in contrast to his all-encompassing current role. He could serve as a shepherd or pastor over a whole area, training and guiding the lay leaders who in turn will preside over the small groups, be they house churches, worker groups or industrial groups. He could keep in touch and train these laymen as members of the apostolate,

²¹ Morikawa, Pastors for a Servant People, pp. 39-42. 8

ministers in a secular vocation, around whom a church is formed.²²

Morikawa says that, if the laity are to be the ministers of God in the world, they must be theologians. He contends that the disciplines of engaging in theological and biblical studies should not be limited to clergymen.²³ For this reason Morikawa makes the suggestion which was cited earlier in this paper that laymen with similar vocations in the work-a-day world meet in groups to study the Bible in relationship to the problems connected with their spheres of activity in the world.²⁴ He also recommends lay academies for theological study and dialogues. In Europe he observed that there have been attempts to develop the laity through such academy training. He says that some laymen there enter the academies and receive a highly accelerated training in the Bible and Christian theology, before or after completion of their professional schooling. In this way they are supposedly better equipped to understand their mission and to

²² Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 76.

²³ Morikawa, The Shape of the Church for Missionary Action, p. 10.

²⁴ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 78.

serve the world.²⁵

According to Morikawa the dedication of laymen to their ministry in the world requires a "discipline more rigorous than the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries of the Middle Ages."²⁶ One way in which he asks for expression of a deeper kind of dedication on the part of the laity is in his suggestion that they commit themselves to service in a particular geographical area. Because of the mobility of the contemporary society, however, men are often asked by their employers to move away from an area after their situation is analyzed and their work begun.²⁷ Under such conditions he

²⁵ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, pp. 17-18. Morikawa does not specify which lay academies he is talking about. A summarized account of the purposes and accomplishments of these academies is given by Hendrick Kraemer, A Theology of the Laity (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 36-47. Kraemer says the academies face the dangers of either simply producing dedicated churchmen who support ecclesiastical institutions and think in traditional ecclesiastical patterns, or of leading their members into secular involvements which cause many of them "to write off the empirical church." Long term accounts of the accomplishments of these academies have not yet been submitted. It may be that such reports will indicate that the academies focused the attention of their members in problems defined by the church and set in theological language, rather than leading them into a concerned involvement with the issues of the non-religious sectors of society.

²⁶ Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1964), p. 11.

²⁷ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, pp. 15-16.

claims that it becomes difficult to maintain effective service in that part of the world. Morikawa asks, "Is it inconceivable for a group of laymen to dedicate themselves to ministry in a city for a lifetime, at least for a substantial length of time, in the same way that a missionary goes to spend his life in Burma and Japan?"²⁸

This last suggestion seems to indicate that Morikawa does not really believe that the church can functionally fit the patterns of the rest of the society. The urban industrial world is highly mobile, so that if the church is to minister in this world it must learn how to do so on the move. Morikawa, for all his hopes to remold the church for the contemporary urban world²⁹ reveals in this last suggestion his yearning for the stability that goes with an agrarian society. In the midst of a changing mobile world he seems to want the church to stay put.

After studying Morikawa's proposed structure for the church one is inclined to ask whether or not this structure actually comes out of a sociological analysis of the world. It seems as though the proposals are

²⁸ Morikawa, "The Ministry of the Laity and the Clergy," p. 78.

²⁹ Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism, pp. lff.

more the result of borrowing ideas from European and English churchmen (i.e., Weber, Hoekendijk, Southcott) than of sociological research. It is true that Morikawa is in accord with most modern sociologists when he explains that in modern society men live significant parts of their lives in sectors of the society other than the residential. It might even be that the structure which he proposes is functional in these other sectors. However, in keeping with the methodology which he recommends for developing new structures, these proposals should be tested to determine their functional fit for these other areas of society. If his methodology is followed, it is only after these proposals from England and Europe have been tried and pragmatically validated that they can be properly recommended for general use in America.

Perhaps Morikawa's recommendation that American Baptists adopt church structures which have been developed experimentally in Europe is a stopgap measure. Believing that the traditional structure of the church is dysfunctional, and not having had the time to develop new structures in accord with his sociological methodology, he might have resorted to the suggestions of European churchmen until he could come up with something better. In the months following the B.J.A. program he evidenced a tendency to go beyond these sugges-

tions and to develop his own structures via the methodology which he has proposed. This is one possible explanation for his propagating in the 1960's the ideas of some European theologians of the 1950's.

CHAPTER X

SOME OF THE CAUSES FOR THE OBJECTIONS TO THE PROGRAM OF JITSUO MORIKAWA

It was unlikely that the doctrine of salvation propagated by Morikawa would be accepted without controversy by the theologically conservative American Baptist Convention. There were bound to be reactions, especially when the implications of his doctrines were recognized.

Many local churches had looked to the Division of Evangelism for a program that would help them win converts.¹ Instead Morikawa's office had called this traditional function into question and wanted the structure of the local churches changed. Morikawa's proposals not only failed to suggest new and better ways of winning converts,² but they also stirred up a controversy which resulted in dissension in many churches

¹See the comments of Dr. Lawrence Slaght, editor of The Watchman-Examiner, in the newsletter which the New Jersey Baptist Convention officials prepared for the pastors of that state, April 6, 1967 (in the files of the state offices of The New Jersey Baptist Convention, East Orange, N. J.), p. 10 (mimeographed).

²"Concern for Evangelism," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 55, No. 9 (May 4, 1967), p. 280.

and dissatisfaction with the denominational program.³

The Main Theological Issues of the Controversy
Which Developed Between Morikawa and
American Baptist Conservatives

It appears that the major criticism which Baptist conservatives raise against Morikawa stems from their belief that he has abandoned traditional evangelism for programs of social action.⁴ They claim that evangelism is declaring the doctrines of Christianity in order to win converts. According to them, men who have been converted should engage in programs of social reform as part of their Christian discipleship. However, they do not believe that social action itself is part of the evangelistic mission of the church.⁵ They differ with Morikawa's belief that evangelism is the establishment of Shalom by transforming society. One critic states:

Without being presumptuous or overcritical (remember, we're appreciative of any evangelism that really works), we would

³ See, "The A.B.C.'s of Evangelism," Christianity Today, Vol. XI, No. 18 (June 9, 1967), p. 35.

⁴ See the comments of Thomas B. McDormand in "Two Responses to the Remonstrance on Evangelism by 75 New Jersey Pastors," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (July-August, 1967), p. 11.

⁵ Paul C. Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - I," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (March, 1967), p. 2.

suggest that the advocates of this social action approach have got the cart before the horse. Consider the following chronology: If a man is dead in trespasses and sins (to use scriptural phraseology), he needs life which is offered to him by faith in Christ and which is so cataclysmic that it can only be described as being 'born again.' He can only enter into the Kingdom of God by being born a first time 'of water' (the medium in the womb of the mother prior to and during the first or physical birth) 'and of the Spirit' (the Holy Spirit, the medium of the second birth). . . .the true purposes of evangelism are not the ending of poverty, the banishment of war, the establishment of open housing or the realizing of civil rights, laudable as these goals may be for the Christian and non-Christian alike. The true purposes of evangelism are the bringing of new life to men and the growth of that life 'in wisdom and stature' so that it finds 'favor with God and man.'⁶

Another cause for concern among American Baptist conservatives arises from what they believe to be universalistic implications of Morikawa's doctrine of salvation.⁷ Historically, Baptists have successfully struggled against universalism and have considered as heresy any suggestion that all men are saved by Christ regardless of their commitments of faith.⁸ But Morikawa seems to be supporting this viewpoint when he contends:

⁶Paul C. Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - I," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (March, 1967), p. 2.

⁷"Concern for Evangelism," p. 280.

⁸Abel C. Thomas, A Century of Universalism (Philadelphia: Collins, 1872).

We go not to take Christ, but because Christ is there; not to make Christ Lord, but because Christ is Lord; not to make them God's family, but because they are God's family. We herald the Good News of what has already happened, what is already true. Christ has come to all men. All men belong to Christ. We announce this truth because it's true.⁹

To some, such statements suggest that all men are saved, whether they believe the gospel or not, and the task of the church is simply to tell to the world that they are already heirs of salvation. Most conservatives can recognize no difference between Morikawa's ideas and traditional universalism.¹⁰ To them Morikawa seems to deny that personal conversion is a prerequisite to being saved.¹¹

Conservatives claim that Morikawa has become so concerned over what happens to society that he has overlooked the need for individuals to be saved through faith in the gospel.¹² Typical of their viewpoint is this statement which appeared in Crusader:

⁹ Paul C. Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - II," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (April, 1967), p. 2 gives his objections to these statements made by Morikawa in an article on Omniscope. See, Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part I The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 1 (November, 1963), p. 3.

¹⁰ "How to Kill Evangelism," The Presbyterian Journal, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (May 8, 1963), pp. 10-11.

¹¹ McDormand, "Two Responses to the Remonstrance on Evangelism by 75 New Jersey Pastors," p. 11.

¹² Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - II," p. 2.

I believe the church should do everything possible to remove the ills of society but not in place of telling about God's plan of salvation through Christ for each individual. Social action. . . as an end in itself only produces well fed, clothed, housed, educated, peaceful first class citizens ready for hell.¹³

Some of the critics of Morikawa have accused him of being unbiblical, especially in reference to his doctrine of salvation. They seem convinced that only their particular theology has Biblical support and they imply that since Morikawa's ideas differ from theirs, he is not in accord with what the Bible teaches.¹⁴ For example, one critic says:

The idea of 'become what you are' is not the teaching of the New Testament--rather 'become what God has always intended you to be' through personal faith in Jesus Christ.' If any man be in Christ, he is a new creation. . . (II Cor. 5:17). ' . . . The Bible says, 'He that believeth on Him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already (John 3:18).' Unregenerate man is not a prisoner who has been pardoned, but a prisoner still under sentence. . . . It would be more in keeping with the New Testament to say that salvation is to personally experience forgiveness and pardon for sin, and to be saved means to receive the finished work of Christ of Calvary.¹⁵

¹³Letter to the editor by Mrs. Donald Hall, Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 7 (July-August, 1967), p. 11.

¹⁴See, "Concern for Evangelism," p. 280.

¹⁵Letter to the editor by A. Scott Hutchison, Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (April, 1961), p. 6.

While building the case for their own interpretation of the Bible, Morikawa's opponents do not demonstrate why Morikawa's interpretation should be considered Biblically invalid. A critique of Morikawa's use of the Bible (and he uses the Bible extensively to support his views), has not been made. Yet, in spite of a lack of evidence, many condemn his theology as a distortion of what the scriptures teach.¹⁶

Still another major cause of controversy over his ideas is that he appears to reduce the importance of the role of the church in the process of transforming the world.¹⁷ The conservatives contend that God's will for this world is basically fulfilled through Christians. They further claim that men become Christians because the church carries out its evangelistic function. Hence, the church, by virtue of evangelizing those through whom God transforms the world, is established as the basic institution for the salvation of the world.¹⁸ Accordingly, the Baptist covenant, read in most American Bap-

¹⁶Cf, "Concern for Evangelism," p. 280; Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - II," p. 2.

¹⁷See the comments of L. Doward McBain in the article, "The Panels," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June, 1967), pp. 4-5.

¹⁸See, McDormand, "Two Responses to the Remonstrance on Evangelism by 75 New Jersey Pastors," p. 11; Allen, "The Evangelism We Need - II," p. 2.

tist churches as part of the celebration of the Lord's Supper,¹⁹ states:

We engage, therefore, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, to walk together in Christian love; to strive for the advancement of this church in knowledge, holiness and comfort; to promote its prosperity and spiritually; to sustain its worship, ordinances discipline, and doctrines; to give it a sacred pre-eminence over all institutions of human origins.²⁰

Morikawa claims that in the process of creating Shalom, God is also working outside the church and apart from Christians. He says that the church is only one of the many instruments which God employs for his purpose.²¹ According to him Christians should seek to establish Shalom and not be concerned with maintaining the structure and status of one institutional means to that goal.²² One of Morikawa's associates follows this line of thought

¹⁹ Norman H. Maring and Winthrop S. Hudson, A Baptist Manual of Polity and Practice (Valley Forge, Pa.: The Judson Press), pp. 72-73, explain the role of the church covenant in American Baptist Churches.

²⁰ Copies of the church covenant from which this passage was taken can be secured from the American Baptist Book Store, Valley Forge, Pa. (Copies of it will usually be found pasted on the insides of the front covers of the hymnals in most American Baptist churches.) (The emphasis is not in the original but was added by the author.)

²¹ Jitsuo Morikawa, "Burma: Social Change and Christian Witness," Missions (September, 1961), pp. 20-21.

²² Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1964), pp. 2-3, 11.

and concludes that in the process of creating Shalom churches might choose other means to achieve His purposes for the world.²³ Obviously, those who believe that the church has a "sacred pre-eminence over all institutions of human origins" oppose such thinking. Many such conservatives tend to believe that Morikawa's theology lessens the significance of the church.²⁴

Some opponents object to Morikawa's suggestion that the church should be structured to meet the requisites of society. They claim that the function of the church is designated by the mandate of God and is not to be determined by the social requisites as understood by sociologists.²⁵ Among the questions which these critics raise is the following:

Can the forms of society be permitted to shape the life and ministry of the Church? Liberal thinkers seem to assume that it must be so. . . . Can the resulting product be identified with the Christian faith, or its promulgation squared with the mandate of the Lord of the Church.²⁶

²³ A statement to this accord was printed in the Sunday evening program for the American Baptist Convention meeting held in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 21, 1967. This statement was drawn up by Barbara Johnson of the A.B.H.M.S. staff.

²⁴ "Evangelism or Confusion?" Christianity Today, Vol. VIII, No. 12 (March 13, 1967), p. 26 (552).

²⁵ Letter to the editor by Paul Eppinger, Cru-sader, Vol. XXI, No. 11 (December, 1966), p. 11.

²⁶ Harold B. Kuhn, "God's Work in the World," Christianity Today, Vol. X, No. 21 (July 22, 1966), p. 48.

They contend that the traditional function of the church, along with its subsequent structure, has been determined by New Testament teachings and should not be abandoned simply because some sociologists believe that it fails to "fit" societal requisites. It is their conviction that the church exists to change society not to functionally adjust it.²⁷

Some Sociological Explanations of the Conservative Reactions to the Program of Morikawa

The controversy which has developed between Morikawa and his conservative critics has been heightened by certain sociological factors. A survey of the ways in which these factors have conditioned the controversy gives some insights as to why it has become so severe and crucial for many Baptists.

The first of these factors to be cited is the fact that social institutions possess a strain toward conservatism. In other words, they are resistant to change.²⁸ Furthermore, those with vested interests in these institutions are on constant guard against persons or ideas which threaten to alter such societal

²⁷Letter to the editor by Paul Eppinger.

²⁸William Fielding Ogburn, Social Change (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1923) became the leading proponent of the idea that social institutions were by nature conservative.

structures.²⁹

Of all the social institutions, the church is the most conservative. Those with vested interests in its continuance (i.e., clergymen) defend its established function and structure as though it were their sacred responsibility.³⁰ Such institutional conservatism provides part of the basis for the reactions which Morikawa's efforts have encountered.

Many American Baptist clergymen resist Morikawa's program. They had hoped that he would devise some means to enable churches to fulfill their traditional function with increased effectiveness.³¹ Contrary to their expectations, he set forth a program which conceives of new types of ministry. To many, this program appears to threaten the very institutional structures which they believe it should support.³²

²⁹Ogburn, Social Change, pp. 168-9.

³⁰Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), p. 62. The Middletown studies made by the Lynds admirably substantiate this point. See Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), pp. 315-77, and Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 295.

³¹Allan, "The Evangelism We Need-I," p. 2; "Concern for Evangelism," p. 280; McDormand, "Two Responses to the Remonstrance on Evangelism by 75 New Jersey Pastors," p. 11.

³²Paul C. Allen and Jitsuo Morikawa, "American Baptist and Evangelism," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (Jan-

In the ensuing struggle against the proposals of Morikawa, his opponents utilize the membership reports of their denomination. According to the statements of one of its recent presidents, the American Baptist Convention is the only one of the major Protestant groups in the United States to lose members since 1950.³³ Morikawa's program has failed to produce results (i.e., new members for Baptist churches) and many Baptist conservatives, in keeping with their pragmatic orientation,³⁴ have claimed that it is therefore invalid and erroneous.³⁵ One of the outstanding leaders of the denomination calls Baptists to reject the "new evangelism" of Morikawa when he says:

Let us recapture a concern for souls,
and then we shall reverse our shameful
20 year trend of fewer first decisions
for Christ.³⁶

³²uary, 1961), pp. 8-9. Allen criticizes Morikawa for apparently rejecting traditional forms of evangelism for a program of social action. Consequently, Allen regards Morikawa's program as a threat to the traditional function of the church.

³³This was stated by Carl W. Tiller, president of the American Baptist Convention, 1966-67. See, "The A.B.C.'s of Evangelism," p. 35.

³⁴See Chapter II.

³⁵"Concern for Evangelism," pp. 279-80; Letter to the editor by G. A. Gabelman, Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June, 1967), p. 11.

³⁶"The Speeches," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June, 1967), p. 4.

The failure of Morikawa's program to benefit the institutional church has led many to call for his dismissal from denominational office.³⁷ One denominational executive claims:

Everybody knew we needed a change. Dr. Woodbury, God bless his heart, just did not have what it takes to make this denomination grow. But Morikawa - he hasn't shown me anything that would convince me that his ideas are any better. Now I don't worship the institutional church, but I don't think a man ought to be head of the Division of Evangelism who is not good for the institutional church. I don't think Morikawa is good for the denomination. His program has done nothing to help our Baptist witness grow.³⁸

An understanding of the social dynamics which are involved in the controversy which Morikawa's program encounters leads us to expect that he would be opposed by local pastors. However, what seems to be sociologically exceptional is that Morikawa is also opposed by many of his fellow denominational executives. Usually, the mem-

³⁷ There are some American Baptists who are concerned lest Morikawa be blamed for the failure of local churches to win converts. Joseph Heartberg, Executive Secretary of the New Jersey Baptist Convention defends Morikawa and says, "No national officer in the American Baptist Convention is powerful enough to block evangelistic action in your church or mine." Heartberg claims that there are other reasons why Baptist churches have failed to increase their memberships and Morikawa should not be made a "scapegoat" for these failures. See, the April 6, 1967 Newsletter of the New Jersey Baptist Convention, p. 9.

³⁸ Personal interview with Paul C. Allen, Editor of Crusader, Valley Forge, Pa., June 22, 1965.

bers of a bureaucracy, like the National Offices of the American Baptist Convention, loyally support the vocational activities of each executive employed within their organization.³⁹ Such tendencies toward bureaucratic loyalty are described by Max Weber,⁴⁰ who goes on to say:

Loyalty may be hypocritically simulated by individuals or by whole groups on purely opportunistic grounds, or carried out in practice for mutual self-interest.⁴¹

In the controversy centering around Morikawa these sociological expectations seem to have been superseded by some other factors. The exceptional nature of this situation is seen in the fact that many of his fellow denominational workers, rather than giving him the support that is usually forthcoming from members of the same bureaucratic organization, have become some of his most vocal opponents. In previous theological controversies, denominational leaders have held a uni-

³⁹ Richard Korn, "The Private Citizen, the Social Expert, and the Social Problem: An Excursion Through an Unacknowledged Utopia," Mass Society in Crisis, edited by Bernard Rosenberg, Israel Gerver, and F. William Howton (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), pp. 591-593.

⁴⁰ Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 326.

⁴¹ Ibid.

fied front and have maintained a mutual support against an attacking segment of the denomination's constituency.⁴² But in this instance many bureaucratic executives have broken ranks and have become members of Morikawa's opposition.

Actually, there has been little concern over what denominational executives believe as long as they function effectively in their institutional roles.⁴³ If some theologically liberal leader fell under attack, his fellow denominational executives rallied to his support. His co-workers could, in such situations, be expected to serve as mediators between their attacked colleague and his opponents in the denomination's rank and file membership. These bureaucrats would see to it that the views of their fellow executive were so interpreted that the attackers would soon be appeased.⁴⁴

⁴²When, during the fundamentalist controversy, questions were raised over the orthodoxy of missionaries, seminary professors, or denominational executives, the other officials of the denomination investigated and submitted glowing reports supporting those under attack. See, Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 85-97; Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 110-118.

⁴³Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 147-149.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 93-94.

Among the executives there has been a loyalty to their organization which has taken priority over theological viewpoints. When some member of the bureaucracy has come under attack, his colleagues have defended him regardless of the doctrinal differences which they might have with him.⁴⁵ Such loyalty has been regarded as expedient for the survival of the organization. Those who defended a colleague under attack did so with the expectation that he would do the same for any of them should they fall under criticism.⁴⁶

One reason that Morikawa is attacked by those who, according to sociological expectation, should be defending him is that he has broken what has come to be considered an unwritten law of bureaucracies: Do nothing to embarrass or offend the organization.⁴⁷ The controversy which his program created has been detrimental to the ability of denominational executives to enlist loyalty and financial backing for their organization. The executive offices and their employees depend on the

⁴⁵ Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 131-2; 147-9.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 132; see, Herbert A. Simon, "Decision Making and Administrative Organization," Public Administration Review, Vol. IV, No. (1944), p. 21.

⁴⁷ Korn, "The Private Citizen, The Social Expert and the Social Problem: An Excursion Through An unacknowledged Utopia," p. 592.

pastors and members of local churches for sustenance, and if anything should happen to weaken the support of these churches the life of the bureaucracy would be in jeopardy.⁴⁸

"Enlightened self-interest" requires that denominational executives placate disturbed pastors and keep their churches loyal to the denominational organization.⁴⁹ Yet, Morikawa persists in developing a program that antagonizes local church leaders and threatens to deter their support. Concern over this situation is expressed by one executive who said:

I don't understand what Jitsuo's theology is driving at. What I do know is that his program is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. By that I mean he's upsetting the local church and that's what keeps these denominational offices going.⁵⁰

Another executive expressed somewhat the same concern:

⁴⁸ Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition, pp. 116, 121f.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 138.

⁵⁰ Interview with Allen. The New Jersey pastors who have requested that denominational executives curtail Morikawa's program for evangelism and reaffirm the traditional function of the church make a point of emphasizing that they represent 45.8% of their state's financial support for the work directed by the national offices; see, "Concern for Evangelism," p. 279. Consequently, it is not surprising to learn that the General Council of the American Baptist Convention (which is composed of the highest executives of the denomination) gave this request immediate attention. See, "The General Council," Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June, 1967), p. 3.

Morikawa ought to realize who is paying his salary. Should the institutional church change as he suggests he'll probably be out of a job. If he thinks the church is as irrelevant as he says, then why does he go on working for it. It seems to me he ought to show some loyalty to an organization that pays his salary or he ought to get out of it.⁵¹

These fears of the denominational officials have been reinforced by the attitudes and threats of the conservative wing of the American Baptist constituency. Since the fundamentalist controversy, the executives of the denomination have tried to keep the theologically conservative churches content with the American Baptist Convention program.⁵² Because each church of this denomination is autonomous and able at any time to sever its relationships with the rest of the denomination, Baptist executives have worked hard to pacify the churches and keep them satisfied.⁵³ But Morikawa's theology and program have tended to upset these efforts. His program has caused unfavorable reaction to the American Baptist Convention in churches throughout the nation, and many fundamentalist churches have threatened

⁵¹Personal interview with Haakon Knudsen, Director of Field Activities for the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., June 3, 1965.

⁵²Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition, p. 140.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 150-154.

to withdraw from the denomination.⁵⁴ The executive leadership knows that if this were to happen the financial resources of their respective programs would suffer losses. Morikawa is making it very difficult for these executives to maintain their organization.

There are a few, who in typical bureaucratic style, support Morikawa. One such supporter endeavored to deliver him from condemnation by diffusing the responsibility for the program of the Division of Evangelism. In responding to the criticisms of Morikawa's program which were made by New Jersey pastors this executive said:

. . .my board has considered the matter and prepared a suitable response to the New Jersey pastors. While the board did not discuss the theology of evangelism, it did point out that (1) policy is fixed by the board of the society, not the staff; (2) a 'team' composed of national and state executives working in the field of evangelism is responsible for implementation;. . .⁵⁵

Another of his supporters tries to deliver Morikawa from the accusation, made by some conservatives, that the program has failed to win new members to Baptist churches. He tries to convince the critics that:

⁵⁴ Interview with Joseph Chapman, The Executive Minister of the Ohio Baptist Convention, June 19, 1967, on the campus of Denison University, Granville, Ohio.

⁵⁵ "The General Council," p. 3. Statement was made by William H. Rhoades, Executive Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies.

. . .local congregations cannot lay failure to win persons to Christ at the doorstep of a department or a person in Valley Forge.⁵⁶

However, such defenders are tending to become fewer in number. More and more executives, fearing the threats to their organization created by Morikawa's program, are joining in the controversy on the side of the conservatives who want him removed from office. They share the fears expressed by the executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Baptist Convention who said: "We are headed for trouble. We must make some adjustments, regardless of how difficult it may be."⁵⁷

Morikawa's program not only appears as a threat to those with vested interests in the traditionally established institutional church, but it also runs counter to the social traits of the "ideal type" American Baptist. While the nation has undergone a social transformation which has produced a somewhat changed personality-type, the typical American Baptist retains many of the traits of his nineteenth century prede-

⁵⁶ Joseph Heartberg, executive secretary of the New Jersey Baptist Convention, made this statement as part of an impromptu speech from the floor of the 1967 meeting of the American Baptist Convention which was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., Valley Forge is the locale of the national offices of the denomination.

⁵⁷ See, "The A.B.C.'s of Evangelism," p. 35.

cessors.⁵⁸ There are within him strong residues of activism, pragmatism and individualism,⁵⁹ and these values cause him to be unfavorably disposed toward Morikawa's ideas.

Morikawa thinks that salvation is a social development and contends that the individual only comes to enjoy salvation in so far as he participates in a social system which is being transformed into Shalom. He says that there cannot be individual salvation and that it is "more correct to say that salvation has to do with a new society."⁶⁰ Such thinking stands in diametrical opposition to the concept of individualism held by the "ideal type" Baptist. This concept of individualism supports the belief that salvation is a

⁵⁸ Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 409ff, says that most of those qualities which were characteristic of the nineteenth century American persisted into the twentieth century. Changes in the mechanics of living and the intellectual climate would only slowly overcome the "cultural lag" which conserves the personality type of former periods.

⁵⁹ See Chapter II.

⁶⁰ Jitsuo Morikawa, "Part I-The Nature of the Church and the Community," Omniscope, Vol. X, No. 2 (November, 1963), p. 7. Also, Morikawa's program is committed to a holistic interpretation of society. See, Paul L. Stagg, The Converted Church (Valley Forge, Pa.: The Judson Press, 1967), p. 108. (Stagg is one of Morikawa's associates in the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.). Holistic interpretations of society minimize the significance of the individual's decision and action in determining social events or facts.

gift of God to the particular man who personally believes the gospel. The typical Baptist believes that each individual Christian will enjoy salvation in heaven regardless of what happens to the rest of the world.

Morikawa even questions whether or not a man who is conditioned by the massive group and organizational structure of modern society actually is capable of making the kinds of individualistic decisions which conservatives claim are essential to becoming a Christian and living the Christian life.⁶¹ Morikawa considers man to be extensively determined by society and that the social systems which influence man's behavior must be Christianized if he is to act in accord with the will of God.⁶² These tendencies to social determinism are in conflict with the concept of self-reliance which is typically American and specifically American Baptist. Traditionally, the "ideal type" Baptist has presupposed that man is capable of making decisions by which he personally determines his destiny. Morikawa appears to be questioning this basic presup-

⁶¹ Jitsuo Morikawa, Reshaping the Witnessing Community, A study paper prepared for the Division of Program Planning of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., February 20, 1962 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 2-3 (mimeographed).

⁶² Ibid.

position.

Another possible source of opposition to Morikawa's program stems from the fact that his theology undermines the system of rewards and punishments which provides one of the incentives for Baptist activism. The "ideal type" American Baptist espouses a capitalistic system of economics which leads him to believe that some forms of compensation must be offered to motivate men to creative activity, and that unless this is done there will be a lack of initiative to fulfill the tasks of life.⁶³

It is a natural tendency to carry accepted economic principles into one's understanding of religion.⁶⁴ Consequently, the typical American Baptist accepts as a foregone conclusion, the idea that without a system of rewards and punishments the religious enterprise would soon collapse. According to his reasoning, there is

⁶³ The system of rewards and punishments is deemed essential to the capitalistic system espoused by most Americans. See, Wilbert E. Moore, Economy and Society (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 7-16. For a fuller discussion of the value system of American economics see George Simpson, Man in Society: Preface to Sociology and the Social Sciences (New York: Random House, 1954).

⁶⁴ Glenn M. Vernon, Sociology of Religion (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1962), pp. 13-16. Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 42, 53, 93-104.

little sense to being "good" if there is not some reward, and there is nothing to keep people from sinning to their heart's content if there is no punishment.⁶⁵ Virtue must have a special reward and sin a terrible punishment for there to be a rationale to morality.⁶⁶

All of this was neatly arranged in the modified Calvinistic theology of American Baptists. The righteous were to be rewarded in heaven with eternal life and with a Biblically promised "crown of righteousness," On the other hand, the guilty sinners were to be punished by suffering everlastingly in the agonies of hell.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1960), p. 83.

⁶⁶ R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), p. 230; H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: World Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 87-88.

⁶⁷ Augustus Hopkins Strong, Systematic Theology, 3 Vols (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1903), Vol. III, pp. 1023-54. A good sociological study of what Americans believe can be found in John L. Thomas, Religion and the American People (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1963), pp. 48-93. In the minds of dispensationalists this theological economy was even more finely developed as they held to a belief in degrees of reward and degrees of punishment. Accordingly, those who lived extremely holy lives would receive greater rewards in heaven than those who had been saved but were without much to show in the way of "fruits of service and righteousness." Those who had lived very diabolical lives received greater punishment than those who had not accepted Christ as saviour, but on the other hand, had not been extremely sinful in their earthly sojourns. This described system of rewards and punishments received backing from the Scofield Reference Bible which, as shown in Chapter V of this study, has had a decisive effect on American Baptist life. See, The Scofield Reference Bible, edited by C. I. Scofield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 1214,

Morikawa's theology calls this reward and punishment system into question. His "reverent agnosticism" concerning the afterlife, his unwillingness to deem anyone as deserving of eternal rewards, and his description of a God who has provided salvation for all men, seem to undercut some of the basic assumptions of the system just described. His antagonists argue that if Morikawa's uncertainty concerning the fate of non-Christians is accepted, then the incentive to be a Christian is diminished. And if there is no assurance of special rewards for special efforts in Christian service, then the willingness for self-giving on the part of Christians will be lessened. If, indeed, salvation is understood as being a gift of God to men whether men believe in Christ or not, then the urgency of being saved is considered negligible.⁶⁸

While Morikawa, by urging men to participate in what God is doing in the world, appeals to the element of activism in the character of the "ideal type" Baptist, his theology undermines the "reward system" which is sometimes thought to be the basis for such

⁶⁷1233, 1351; C. I. Scofield, Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, Inc., n.d.), pp. 86-9; Lewis Sperry Chafer, Major Bible Themes (Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1926), pp. 283-7, 294-9.

⁶⁸"Spring Thaw for Baptists," Christianity Today, Vol. VII, No. 14 (April 12, 1963), pp. 36-67 (697).

activism. Consequently, the typical Baptist finds further reason to be unfavorably disposed to Morikawa's program.

Finally, Morikawa seems to abandon the pragmatic test for validity, which is standard for the "ideal type" Baptist. When his program fails to bring new members into Baptist churches he simply claims that membership growth does not signify that the will of God is being done.⁶⁹ Morikawa says that the church that exercises its prophetic function in society should not expect its membership to increase.⁷⁰ He further suggests that God may be calling the American Baptist Convention to be a small denomination, which, because it is unconcerned with growth and aggrandizement, can lead the way into experimental forms of ministry which are relevant to the structure of modern society.⁷¹ Morikawa's theology stresses that the church is a servant of the world and not an organization which seeks

⁶⁹Jitsuo Morikawa, The Anquish of Our Witness (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), pp. 11-12.

⁷⁰Jitsuo Morikawa, The Urban Church and Evangelism (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1958), pp. 4-6.

⁷¹Jitsuo Morikawa, A Radical Reformation, An address prepared for the American Baptist Convention meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, June 4, 1959 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies), pp. 1, 9, (mimeographed).

to bring all the world into its fold. He says that the church should be willing to forego "worldly success" and even sacrifice its own existence for the sake of serving the world.⁷²

Morikawa's statements concerning the growth and success of Baptist churches are lofty sentiments which can be incorporated in idealistic statements for denominational convocations, but the typical pragmatic Baptist expects successful results from the new program of evangelism before accepting its validity. When the statistics indicate that Baptist churches have failed to grow, the typical Baptist willingly admits his concern and uneasiness.⁷³ Representative of the judgments passed on Morikawa's program is the following:

. . .It is our contention that any evangelism--the old kind, the new kind or some other kind--ought to produce results or it should be discarded. Statistics have limited worth and can fail to tell much of the story, but there ought to be some statistics. Some of the results of worthwhile evangelism will be found in inaccessible places; they will be manifest in immeasurable amounts; they may produce private heroics and cover conquests, but some end product there must be or we should admit failure and move on.⁷⁴

⁷²Morikawa, "II-The Nature of the Church and the Community," p. 11.

⁷³"Concern for Evangelism," p. 280.

⁷⁴Allen, "The Evangelism We Need-II," p. 2.

Morikawa, by refusing to accept such pragmatic forms of evaluation, predisposes himself to conflict with the "ideal type" Baptist.

CHAPTER XI

A SOCIOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF MORIKAWA'S PROGRAM

Morikawa's program has many sociological weaknesses. In light of the fact that he encourages the use of sociological methods and models for restructuring the church, it seems strange that Morikawa himself should ignore some of the basic canons of social science. Yet a survey of his program from a sociological perspective demonstrates a lack of careful attention to procedures and findings of this discipline.

Morikawa's Analysis of Society is Sociologically Inadequate

In spite of his urging that new structures for the church be developed in accord with methodology typical of sociological functionalists, Morikawa himself has not followed this instruction. His analysis of society has not been primarily sociological, but has been a restatement of theological ideas prevalent in Europe following World War II. Because he has not first made a sociological analysis he has failed to follow the functionalist's pattern for designing a

church structure which would meet the requisites of society.

Like many Americans, Morikawa seems to feel that European scholars and their ideas are superior to those of his own country.¹ He therefore tries to foster among American Baptists, church structures which have been developed in Europe and on the British Isles during the last two decades. Morikawa does not seem to have considered that what might be socially functional in Europe (and there is some question as to whether these church structures are functional there) is not necessarily functional in the United States. There has been no sociological substantiation that the church structures proposed by Weber, Kraemer, Hoekendijk and other non-American churchmen would be "fit" for the society in which American Baptists live.

It is interesting to note that Morikawa himself, throughout the years of the B.J.A. program, has gradually become aware of the sociological inadequacy of his proposals. Little by little he has come to realize that his theological assertions about the condition of society are in need of sociological validation before they can become the basis for prescribing the functions

¹Don Martindale, American Social Structure (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1960), pp. 17-22.

of the church.² Hence, in the latter years of B.J.A. and in the time since, he has called upon professional sociologists to be consultants for his staff meetings.³ He has also appealed to his denomination to grant the funds to add a research sociologist to his staff.⁴ Other examples of Morikawa's effort to give his proposals a firm sociological foundation are also evident. More and more he has urged the establishment of experimental church structures and encouraged those who already have been testing new ways for the church to function.⁵ His primary experimental project has been the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia.

² Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of the Baptist Jubilee Advance, 1959-1964, pp. 15-16.

³ Among the professional social scientists who have worked with Morikawa recently are Digby Baltzell, professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Donald Eugene Smith, professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania, and Dennis Clark, of the Temple University Center for Community Studies.

⁴ Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of the Baptist Jubilee Advance, 1959-1964, pp. 15-16; Jitsuo Morikawa, Goals for National Program, A study paper prepared for the staff of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S., Valley Forge, Pa., April 10, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), p. 2 (mimeographed). In June 1966, Robert Hoover, head of the Graduate School of City Planning, joined Morikawa's staff. See, Richard M. Jones, "Social Change and Prophetic Community," Foundations, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July-September, 1966), p. 22.

⁵ Morikawa, Goals for National Program, pp. 4-5.

A growing desire to employ directly his methodology of "action-reflection" provided the primary motivation for Morikawa to initiate the formation of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia.⁶ The project was established in downtown Philadelphia where his staff is able to investigate the functional structure of a modern metropolis, and where they are away from the surveillance of critical denominational executives. In defining the project, Morikawa states its purpose to be:

. . .to engage in action-research for the church's ministry and participation in the modern metropolis, with particular reference to the industrial, political, cultural, educational and social sectors. . . . The purpose of this project is definitely not to further the self-interest of the church for institutional aggrandisement, but to discern ways of serving the welfare of the whole community and participate in the renewal of the metropolis.⁷

The personnel of the project's staff consists of twenty-four clergymen and laymen.

Their style of mission is operational or action, research, in contrast to pure research. That is, (1) they will pursue their mission within a research context guided and directed by research procedures, (2) in those defined spheres and aspects of metropolitan life where the nature of

⁶Ibid., p. 4; Jitsuo Morikawa, "The Witnessing," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (February, 1966), p. 4.

⁷Jitsuo Morikawa, Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia, A one page dissertation of the project which was prepared for the general information of the public (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed).

missionary action is not clear, (3) by full time involvement in the secular structures in behalf of the church.⁸

It is hard to predict how this project, directly employing sociological methodology, will change Morikawa's thinking. Preliminary reports of the project have indicated that some of the idealism of his earlier statements may be diminishing. The documents which he has produced during the latter part of 1965 and the early part of 1966 do not mention "the church participating in the establishing of 'Shalom'," but rather limit themselves to the more modest statement that the church is "to participate in the renewal of the metropolis."⁹ From a reading of the reports in the offices of the Metropolitan Associates it seems that the Utopian hopes which Morikawa preached during the B.J.A. years

⁸ Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia. A study paper drawn up for the American Baptist Home Mission Societies (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), p. 5 (mimeographed). This is not to be confused with the one page document written by Morikawa and cited above.

⁹ Cf. Jitsuo Morikawa, Proposal for National Evangelism Strategy and Resource, A proposed program for evangelism presented to the A.B.H.M.S., Valley Forge, Pa., December 20, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), (mimeographed). Jitsuo Morikawa, "Interpretation of Metropolitan Associates," Structure and Relationship, Minutes of the East Central Task Group Meeting of Area Directors of Evangelism and National Division of Evangelism in Cleveland, Ohio, October 18-20, 1965 (in the files of the Division of Evangelism of the A.B.H.M.S.), pp. 40-43.

have faded somewhat in light of the results of sociological investigation.¹⁰ It appears that the transformation of the world into "Shalom" has not proved to be so discernable as Morikawa had originally supposed. The social changes about which he was so optimistic, may not be proving as viable as he once considered them to be.

**Morikawa Pays Inadequate Attention to the
Findings of Sociological Functionalists**

Morikawa proposed that the church be structured to meet the requisite needs of society as they are defined by sociological investigators. Yet, he seems

¹⁰ Cf. Notes for M.A.P. Meeting, December 3-5, 1965 (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed). Notes for Meeting with M.A.P. Staff on September 12, 1965 (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed). Richard N. Jones, Toward Understanding and Participating in Social Change, A study paper prepared for the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia, January 21, 1966 (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed). Richard R. Broholm, Position Paper, A study paper prepared for the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia, January 21, 1966 (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed). Theodore H. Erickson, Jr., Christian Observation and Participation in an Urban Society, A study paper prepared for the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia, September 12, 1965 (in the files of the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia), (mimeographed). Also note the monthly editions of Witness, a publication of the Division of Evangelism for the Nation and Area Evangelists Staffs.

to pay little attention to what sociologists, particularly of the functionalist school, are saying about the roles which the church should play in contemporary society. The studies made by the Metropolitan Associates of Philadelphia seem to ignore the admonitions and warnings which social scientists are giving in regard to the church.

J. Milton Yinger, a leader in the field of the sociology of religion warns against any proposal which would make the church "the institution, or feature of culture, which undertakes in the service of mankind, those functions for which there is no other institution or for the undertaking of which no other institution is as yet adequately prepared."¹¹ Yinger asks if there are not certain persistent functions of religion which no other institution nor social agency can ever perform. He asks:

Is there no core of functions that seems likely to be a continuing source of religious activity? Or are science, philosophy, art, government, medicine and the like, chiseling steadily away at religion so that it is a suicidal institution. . .?¹²

¹¹J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 11, objects to this idea which has been given a clear statement by Knight Dunlap, Religion: Its Function in Human Life (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1946), p. 321.

¹²Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 11.

It seems apparent that Morikawa should give serious attention to these questions and this warning. He believes that the church should study and serve those societal needs which are not being met by any other institution. However, one by one, these needs are being met by agencies other than the church. Unless there is some core function for the church, it is possible that the time may come when the requisites of society all may be met by other agencies leaving the church with no functions to fulfill. At such a point the church theoretically would be doomed to extinction.¹³ Morikawa might think that the church should joyfully accept this possibility because he claims that the church exists to be God's servant for the world and does not exist simply to perpetuate itself.

Some Functionalists believe that there is a core function of the church and that it is to minister to the emotional needs of individuals.¹⁴ According to

¹³Cf. Anthony T. Hanson, The Church of the Servant, (Naperville, Ill.: SCM Book Club, 1962), pp. 73-85.

¹⁴See, Milton Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), pp. 18-20; Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 367-379; Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), p. 532ff. Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society, A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 304-45.

them, the requisites which only the church can meet are variously defined as fortifying the personality against anxiety,¹⁵ providing deliverance from loneliness,¹⁶ overcoming doubt, imparting meaning to existence,¹⁷ teaching man the art of loving,¹⁸ etc. They contend that the emotional strain which modern urban man must endure,¹⁹ the anomie which he experiences in the contemporary gesellschaft,²⁰ the lack of meaning which is characteristic of his "marginal existence,"²¹ all present needs which the church should be structured to meet. The individual man in the mass society requires a church which will help him cope with the problems of personal existence. Thus, sociological functionalists support those who would structure the church to minis-

¹⁵W. Seward Salisbury, Religion in American Culture (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1964), pp. 47-8.

¹⁶Erich Fromm, Escape from Bondage (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1941), pp. 77-8.

¹⁷Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 283.

¹⁸Pitrim A. Sorokin, The Ways and Power of Love (Chicago: Henry Regney Company, 1967), pp. 25ff.

¹⁹Elizabeth Nottingham, Religion and Society (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 28-30, 38-40.

²⁰Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, pp. 548-82.

²¹See, Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937).

ter to individuals rather than to the impersonal power structures of society as Morikawa suggests.

Morikawa seemingly passes over these observations of functionalistic social scientists when he suggests that the church should move from concentrating its ministry upon individual salvation to social salvation. He does not give serious attention to the fact that many sociologists are defining the core function of the church as providing individualistic salvation for modern man who needs deliverance from the emotional burdens which are often the consequences of modern living.

Actually, the traditional church seems ably structured to meet the requisite needs of society. Although it ignores the complex problems of society and fails to engage in a program of social reform, it proclaims a message which brings comfort to the emotionally burdened individual.²² In spite of all the complaints about its dysfunctional nature from such critics as Morikawa, the fact remains that many sociological

²²Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, pp. 96-102. There is an apparent difference between what the masses and what the church intellectuals expect from the church. The masses want a religion that ministers to their personal needs, i.e., Norman Vincent Peale, The Power of Positive Thinking (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), while the religious intellectuals want a religion which offers society a philosophy of history and a program for social reform, i.e., Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, one volume edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946).

functionalists consider the traditional church to be adept at the task of ministering in the midst of contemporary society.²³

While it is true that the recent decline of the American Baptist Convention can be used as evidence that its structure is no longer functionally fit for the urban-industrial world, it must be remembered that other denominations utilizing the same structure have experienced significant membership growth.²⁴ Yinger points out that, with few exceptions, Protestant churches have not only survived in modern society but have registered tremendous gains in size and wealth during the same years in which urbanization and industrialization have been most pronounced.²⁵ He argues that such growth seems to indicate that the traditional church is not as dysfunctional as Morikawa has assumed.²⁶

²³Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, pp. 67-74.

²⁴There are indications that the religious revival of the 1950's has come to an end and that support for all the major religious groups is declining. If this is true then the claim that the traditional structure of the church is dysfunctional may have some statistical support.

²⁵Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, pp. 67-74.

²⁶Ibid.

Other Sociologically Plausible
Explanations of the Failure of American
Baptist Churches to Register Membership Growth

Part of the failure of the American Baptist Convention to register growth in membership can be attributed to the loss of churches which accompanied the Fundamentalist Controversy. Any membership gains which might have been made in churches loyal to the denomination have been more than offset by the withdrawal of conservative churches from denominational affiliation. Well over a million members have been lost as a result of churches severing relations with the American Baptist Convention.²⁷

The denominational schisms which accompanied the Fundamentalist Controversy have only partially rid the American Baptist Convention of its dissonant elements.²⁸ Many fundamentalists have remained within their denomination hoping to steer it into a more con-

²⁷ In addition to churches lost to the Conservative Baptist Association and the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, the American Baptist Convention also lost a large number of churches to the Southern Baptist Convention. There were many churches, which after withdrawing from the denomination joined none of these groups but maintained an independent existence. See, Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), pp. 449-452.

²⁸ Louis Gasper, The Fundamentalist Controversy (Paris: Mouton and Co., 1963), p. 17.

servative course of theology and action.²⁹ Hence the denomination has come to be divided into at least two theological schools--liberal and extreme conservative. Many other denominations also have suffered from such internal divisiveness but none so seriously as has the American Baptist Convention.³⁰ This problem has become so acute that it has been almost impossible for the denominational executives to plan a program which is acceptable to both segments of the Convention.³¹ The middle course of action and the moderate theology which have been followed by most national executives have proved to be too modernistic for the conservatives

²⁹ Cf. Joseph I. Chapman, "I'll Not Run Away!" an editorial from the Ohio Section of Crusader, Vol. XXII, No. 5 (May, 1967).

³⁰ Gasper, The Fundamentalist Controversy, p. 16.

³¹ For example, the denominational program and publications produced for church schools (i.e., Sunday schools) is used by less than half of all American Baptist Churches. The Fundamentalists use the more theologically conservative materials published by non-denominational presses (i.e., The Scripture Press, Gospel Light, etc.). The liberals have increasingly utilized the church school publications and programs of the United Church of Christ. For a survey of the percentage of A.B.C. churches which use their denomination's church school materials see, L. C. Lemons, Interpreting Periodical Circulation Reports, An unpublished report of the American Baptist Publication Society, May 12, 1964 (in the files of the American Baptist Publication Society, Valley Forge, Pa.), p. 2.

and too fundamentalistic for the liberals.³² Neither element of the denomination's constituency has seemed satisfied with programs produced at the Valley Forge offices and enthusiastic support for these programs has seldom been forthcoming. Some observers contend that the absence of denominational unity and the inability of leaders to enlist program support from the constituency have hindered the membership growth of the Convention.³³

Another cause for recent membership declines lies in the fact that, from a sociological perspective, American Baptists have grown from the status of "sect" to that of "denomination."³⁴ Their Calvinistic theo-

³² See, Howard Moody, "American Baptists: To Break the Bonds of Captivity," The Christian Century, Vol. LXXX, No. 15 (April 10, 1963), pp. 456-58.

³³ See, Frank Sharp, "Evangelism Sessions at Chicago and Harrisburg Stress Differing Views," Cru-sader, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (April, 1967), p. 6; Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 140-143.

³⁴ Ernst Troeltsch formulated the church-sect typology more than half a century ago. See, Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, trans. by Olive Wyon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), Vol. I, pp. 328-49. In recent years J. Milton Yinger has refined and expanded the typology and made it applicable to the American religious situation. See, Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, pp. 142-55. Yinger classifies the major American denominations under Troeltsch's category of church. With Yinger's assistance Troeltsch's formulation can be used to describe religious groups in America. Beaton Johnson, "On Church

logy supported the Protestant Ethic which in turn called for diligent industry in life's labors and condemned luxury or free spending in recreation.³⁵ This combination of principles very quickly produces increases in wealth, power and social prestige and results in an upgrading class status.³⁶ Within a couple of generations,

³⁴ Sect, "American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (August, 1963), pp. 539-49), summarizes Troeltsch's typology by stating the following: "He conceived of church and sect as independent sociological expressions of two variant interpretations of Christian tradition. The sect, interpreting the teachings of Jesus in a literal and radical manner, is a small, voluntary fellowship of converts who seek to realize the divine law in their own behavior. -It is a community apart from and in opposition to the world around it. It emphasizes the eschatological features of Christian doctrine, espouses ideals of frugality and poverty, prohibits participation in legal or political affairs, and shuns any exercise of dominion over others. Religious equality of believers is stressed and a sharp distinction between clergy and laity is not drawn. It appeals principally to the lower classes. The church, on the other hand, stresses the redemptive and forgiving aspects of Christian tradition. It compromises the more radical teachings of Jesus and accepts many features of the secular world as at least relatively good. It seeks to dominate all elements within society, to teach and guide them and to dispense saving grace to them by means of sacraments administered by ecclesiastical office holders. Although it contains organized expressions of the radical spirit of Christianity in its monastic system, it does not require its members to realize the divine law in their own behavior."

³⁵ Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 98-128.

³⁶ Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 424-429, claims that wealth, power, and social esteem determine class.

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American Baptists, who for the most part had come from the lower social classes,³⁷ have improved their economic and social lot and have become part of the middle-class of society.³⁸

As American Baptists moved up the socio-economic ladder, they often changed their style of church life. They accepted the values, doctrines, and rituals of middle-class denominations. He Richard Niebuhr describes such transitions by stating:

Here the gospel of self-help has excluded all remnants of that belief in fatality which formed the foundation of Puritan heroism. Here the comfortable circumstances of an established economic class have simplified out of existence the problem of evil and have made possible the substitution for the mysterious will of

³⁷Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 275.

³⁸Harvey Everett and Isaac Igaraski, "Meet Your American Baptist Neighbors," Crusader, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (March, 1961) p. 5, give statistical data which, according to the criteria listed by W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1960), pp. 121-159, categorizes Baptists as predominantly lower-middle class. A survey of all Baptist groups lists them as a lower class denomination. See, Glenn M. Vernon, Sociology of Religion (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 391-392. This seeming conflict in data is explained by the fact that Baptist groups, other than the American Baptist Convention, have tended to maintain their sectarian characteristics and have continued to attract lower class members. On the other hand, American Baptists have moved decisively into being a denomination with middle class members and styles of church life.

the Sovereign of life and death and sin and salvation, the sweet benevolence of a Father-Mother God or the vague goodness of the All. Here the concern for self has been secularized to its last degree; the conflicts of sick souls have been replaced by the struggles of sick minds and bodies; the Puritan passion for perfection has become a seeking after the Kingdom of health and mental peace and its comforts.³⁹

The transition also was marked by an increased use of liturgy in worship services and an abandonment of the enthusiastic methods of winning converts. H. Richard Niebuhr says:

The conservatism of established rural and village society took the place of the emotional fervor of earlier days. The revival became part of a new ritual, which called forth the more or less traditional response of conversion. The warmth of untheological but inspired preachers gave way to the conservatism of a consecrated and institution-minded though still untheological clergy. The practice of restricting the membership to the regenerate, experienced adult Christians was adjusted to the requirements of succeeding generations by the virtual acceptance of the church type of organization, by the establishment of Sunday Schools, the consecration of children, and the gradually increasing practice of open communion.⁴⁰

³⁹ H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1957), p. 105.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 170. It should be noted that the Southern Baptist Convention churches sometimes pose exceptions to this usual transition. For an excellent study of the social patterns of Southern Baptist Churches see Samuel S. Hill, Jr., Southern Churches in Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

However, as Baptist churches took on the characteristics of middle class denominationalism they lost contact with the lower class from which they have formerly won their converts.⁴¹ Those, whom H. Richard Niebuhr calls "the socially disinherited," find that the middle class religion does not possess the ethical and psychological characteristics which correspond to their needs.⁴² Many such people, feeling uncomfortable, and out of place in the churches of the major denominations, have turned to sect groups and religious cults in order to have their religious needs satisfied. Store-front churches, Pentecostal sect groups, and cults which offer ecstatic experiences and healing miracles to their followers, frequently are the groups with which these people identify.⁴³ The failure of American Baptist churches to relate to the lower classes is most pronounced in the densely populated urban situations.⁴⁴ There, those who once would have turned to

⁴¹Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 133.

⁴²H. Richard Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 31. Also see, Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

⁴³Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, pp. 41-3.

⁴⁴See, Paul Madsen, editor, Study Papers for the Urban Convocation (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1957).

Baptist Churches, now reject them, as they do the churches of most major denominations of the "Protestant establishment," in favor of more sectarian forms of religion.⁴⁵

Not only do American Baptist churches find it difficult to attract new members from "the socially disinherited" but they also have trouble winning supporters from the middle class. They discover that in spite of having adopted the style of middle class denominationalism, the public has not yet granted them middle class standing. Other American denominations which traditionally have enjoyed higher social esteem (i.e., Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Episcopal) prove more attractive to status seeking members of the middle class.⁴⁶ To make matters worse, American Baptist churches suffer further because many of their own class conscious members leave them to join these more prestigious groups.⁴⁷ Such changes in membership often occur when Baptist families move to new neighborhoods, principally in the suburbs. There, after "shopping around

⁴⁵Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 283.

⁴⁶See James West, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), p. 143; Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 251ff.

⁴⁷Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 74ff. Chapter I, footnote 24 for a review of the basic tenants of functionalism.

for a church," they often affiliate with churches of traditional middle class status. The failure of the American Baptist Convention to provide widespread appeal to either the lower or middle class constitutes a significant cause of its lagging.

Morikawa's Program Lacks an Adequate Theory of Social Change

Perhaps the most serious weakness of Morikawa's program is that it fails to give the problem of social change serious consideration. His theology calls for Christians to join God in the task of transforming the given social order into Shalom. However, in seeking to restructure the church for this bold undertaking he employs the methodology of sociological functionalism which, as a systematic theory lacks an adequate concept of social change.⁴⁸

Because functionalists study society in much the same way as biologists study an organism they tend to regard society as "a type of social system, in any universe of social systems, which attains the highest level of self-sufficiency as a system in relation to its

⁴⁸Cf. Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 9. This is Parsons' newest work and in it he makes his best attempt to deal with the problem of social change.

environments." In other words, the society is viewed as a closed system in which all the requisites of social life are adequately met and, therefore, in a state of equilibrium. The functionalists seek to discover which "equilibrium-maintaining patterns" are necessary to keep the social order "in balance."⁴⁹ They endeavor to formulate measures which should be taken to neutralize the effects of any external or internal influences which might be socially disruptive.⁵⁰ Such a theoretical framework evidences a conservative bias which places a positive value on the social status quo.⁵¹

Because functionalists treat the social system as a whole which encompasses all social factors, change tends to be accounted for in two basic ways: First, it might be the result of phenomena external to the system and exercising influences upon the system. Such

⁴⁹ Don Martindale, "Limits of and Alternatives to Functionalism in Sociology," Functionalism in the Social Sciences, edited by Don Martindale (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965), p. 154. See, Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives, p. 22.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Cf., Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 53-54. Merton is considered one of the outstanding spokesman for sociological functionalism. Cf. Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 471-476.

⁵¹ C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 48-49.

external phenomena might be extra social (i.e., climate, available resources and natural catastrophe) or social (i.e., cross-cultural influences). Secondly, change may be accounted for by recognizing the existence within the social system of forces or situations which bring about imminent development.⁵² For instance, the dysfunctionalism of some social institution or norm might be responsible for the system making adaptive compensations.⁵³ Or, in keeping with earlier concepts of social evolution, the growth of the size of society might foster a process of social differentiation and integration whereby structures in the society serve increasingly specialized functions.⁵⁴ Neither of these processes of change produce cataclysmic results. Parsons says:

The main patternings of cultural systems change only over periods of many generations and are always shared by relatively large groups; they are never special to one or a few individuals, who can make only rather marginal creative (or destructive) contributions to their change.⁵⁵

⁵² See Talcott Parsons, Theories of Society, Vol. I (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), p. 71; Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives, pp. 21-4; Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 53-4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

These ideas are hardly encouraging to the individual Christian who wants to be an agent of God in the task of revolutionizing the social order.

While it is possible to develop some limited explanation of social change within the functionalist's theoretical framework, Don Martindale points out:

Neither of these expedients has been very popular with the sociological functionalists, because of a greater stress on the autonomy of social systems than was true for the classical sociologists and because of the disrepute of various theories of social evolution.⁵⁶

Morikawa, by employing the sociological methodology of functionalism, has allied himself with those social scientists who evidence a bias for preserving the social status quo and who claim that any change in society must be understood to be a gradual development over periods of many generations. Some have even accused the functionalists of providing an ideology for the established order which justifies the neutralizing of the forces which might facilitate social change.⁵⁷ Utilizing the methodology of such a school of thought is hardly conducive to the sweeping aspirations which Morikawa suggests in his sermons. The conservative bias of his sociology stands opposed to the radical

⁵⁶ Martindale, "Limits of and Alternatives to Functionalism in Sociology," p. 160.

⁵⁷ Mills, The Sociological Imagination, pp. 48-49.

hopes of his theology. It is unlikely that functionalism will provide a theoretical basis upon which Morikawa can construct a program by which society can be transformed into Shalom.

Morikawa's belief that the church should be structured to help establish Shalom has grown out of the ideas of Hendrik Kraemer, J. C. Hoekendijk, and H. R. Weber.⁵⁸ But the intellectual context in which these scholars have produced their theologies, unlike the American intellectual context, is one which is heir to sociological traditions which possess bold theories of social change. The social philosophies of Karl Marx and Max Weber, both of which have well defined concepts of social change,⁵⁹ have maintained significant influence in Dutch and German scholarship.⁶⁰ In these countries theologians who wish to formulate a Christian philosophy of history must either do so in dialogue with communists

⁵⁸ See Chapters VII and VIII.

⁵⁹ See Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, translated and edited by T. B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 51-66, and Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated and edited by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 358-72.

⁶⁰ See Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, Social Thought from Lore to Science, Vol. II (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938), pp. 879-940; Raymond Aron, German Sociology, translated by Mary and Thomas Bottomore (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 107-17.

or at least give serious attention to the social change concepts set forth in Marxianism.⁶¹ Consequently, these European theologians who suggest that the church be guided by sociological investigations,⁶² develop theologies which attempt to relate Christianity to societies whose sociological disciplines evidence a concern and desire for social change. The task of the church as outlined by their theology and the disposition toward social change which is characteristic of the prevailing sociological theories prove harmonious.⁶³

⁶¹ See Charles C. West, Communism and the Theologians (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 326-87.

⁶² See, Minutes of the Working Committee of the Department of Evangelism, Davos, Switzerland, July 25-30, 1955 (in the files of the National Council of Churches, Riverside Dr., N. Y.), p. 3f.

⁶³ For example: Mrs. H. Kraemer, widow of the late Hendrik Kraemer, in a personal letter to the author dated August 22, 1967, stated that her husband was very interested in the theories of Max Weber and considered him to be the foremost of sociologists. Reference to Weber is made in Kraemer's writings. See, Hendrik Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 167. While Kraemer does not directly adopt Max Weber's pluralistic theory of social change, the elements of that theory can be discerned in his works. Kraemer, as Weber, recognizes that social change involves the following factors: (1) the increasing tendency toward rationalization, see, Hitt Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 327-59, and Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, pp. 6-16. (2) The role of ideas. See, Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, and Hendrik Kraemer, World Cultures and World Religions (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), p. 321. (3) And the necessity of the social situation

When Morikawa endeavors to relate the ideas of these Dutch and German theologians to the American situation he does not appear sufficiently cognizant of the fact that they do not fit in with the dominant system of sociology in his society. American functionalists assume that the church should help stabilize society rather than change it. J. Milton Yinger says:

Religion may, under some circumstances, help to solve the problem of order, both as a designator of goals (with particular emphasis on shared goals), and as an enforcer of means. By ritual, by symbol, by its system of beliefs, its doctrines of rewards and punishments, religion may help to produce the socialized individuals who accept the dominate values as to legitimate means and ends.⁶⁴

If Morikawa persists in utilizing sociology in defining the task of the church in the American society he will be confronted with two alternatives. First, he can reject a sociological system which regards the church

⁶³to possess an affinity for the possible change, See, Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, pp. 62-3, 284-5, and Kraemer, World Cultures and World Religions, p. 59f. While Kraemer does not give charismatic personalities the same crucial role in social change as Weber does, he nevertheless recognizes that individual men make unique contributions to the development of history. See, Hendrik Kraemer, A Theology of the Laity (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 20-30. Compared to Kraemer, Weber places a much greater emphasis on the role of charismatic personalities in causing social change; see, Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, pp. 245-52.

⁶⁴Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 74.

as a means to stabilizing society in favor of a system which gives a theoretical basis to the kind of social change called for by his European type theology.

Secondly, he can abandon this theology for one which is harmonious with the conservative disposition of functionalism. Morikawa's acceptance of the theological ideas of certain Europeans without an acceptance of the sociological understanding of social change which they assume, leads him to produce a program with internal contradictions.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONCLUSION

There is not much likelihood in the near future that the churches of the American Baptist Convention will demonstrate significant changes in their structure and function. The institutional conservatism of these churches is one factor which makes it unlikely that Morikawa, or any other church leader, will introduce radical variations to their traditional forms of ministry. Those with vested interests in these established organizations undoubtedly will promote the continuance of those structures which offer the security that goes with familiarity.

Furthermore, the controversy which has developed over Morikawa's theology acts as a hindrance to a fair consideration of his program for restructuring the church.¹ His doctrine of salvation has become a source of bitter debate and many have become so preoccupied with the question as to whether or not he is a universalist that they have failed to give attention to his

¹Report to the General Council by the National Committee and Executive Director of the Baptist Jubilee Advance 1959-64 (Valley Forge: Pa., American Baptist Home Mission Societies, 1963), pp. 9-10.

other ideas and proposals.²

Furthermore, even if the American Baptist Convention were open to Morikawa's ideas, there is some question as to whether or not his program would help churches to be more functionally fit for the contemporary social setting. There seems to be little sociological evidence to confirm the belief that the structures which Morikawa proposes would result in churches' meeting more effectively the requisites of society. The sociological weaknesses which have been evidenced in his analysis of society and in his proposals for the church raise doubts concerning the possible success of his program.

Some Possibilities for the Future

Regardless of the kind of structure American Baptist churches may employ, their future growth is dubious. Having become estranged from people in the lower classes and failing to be sufficiently attractive to those in the middle classes, American Baptists are without a significant segment of society from which to draw new members. This factor, coupled with the paralyzing effects of severe schismatic tendencies within the denomination, would appear to make future growth difficult. Also,

²Ibid.

some observers claim that the religious revival of the nineteen fifties is over, and that all denominations are facing the prospect of diminishing church support. Such conditions have raised serious questions as to what the future holds in store for the American Baptist Convention.

There is some possibility that the American Baptist Convention might gain new members and churches from other Baptist groups. Some Southern Baptist churches which are disenchanted with the program of their denomination are attempting to change their affiliation to the American Baptist Convention. These churches usually cite a desire to be involved in the ecumenical movement via the National Council of Churches,³ or claim that they want to be part of a denomination which takes a strong and definitive stand against segregation.⁴ The possibility of proselyting churches from the Southern Baptist Convention and of establishing new churches in the South has led the General Council of the American Baptist Convention to provide executive leadership for

³Personal interviews with pastors of American Baptist Churches in the South. The interviews were informally conducted at the annual Southern Pastor's Luncheon which was held on May 21, 1965 at the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, California. (The Southern Baptist Convention is not a part of the National Council of Churches or the World Council of Churches.)

⁴Ibid.

the purpose of encouraging these developments.⁵ Presently, there are approximately twenty churches in the South which are aligned with the American Baptist Convention.⁶

The American Baptist Convention also can gain churches from Negro Baptist groups. In the past couple of decades large numbers of churches were solely members of one of the Negro Baptist conventions which had chosen to be dually aligned with the American Baptist Convention.⁷ This movement reflects a desire on the part of Negroes to escape the segregation which is evident in most denominational organizations.⁸ Furthermore, such affiliation can be viewed as offering the "black bourgeoisie" an opportunity to demonstrate their newly achieved social status.⁹ Membership in the Ameri-

⁵Year Book of the American Baptist Convention, 1966-67 (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1967), pp. 85, 261, 548.

⁶Ibid., p. 487.

⁷Ibid., pp. 435-87. American Baptists have gained churches from the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc., the Progressive National Baptist Convention, and the National Baptist Convention of America.

⁸Since the Civil War, Negroes and Caucasians have maintained separate denominations. See, H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 236-263.

⁹See, Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Black Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 232, 235-91.

can Baptist Convention allows them to be identified with white middle class religion. Sociological factors like these might lead many Negro churches to follow the already established pattern of dual alignment.¹⁰

Union with other Baptist groups, particularly the Southern Baptist Convention, offers another course for American Baptists to follow. The conservatives of the denomination have generally supported such a union above possible involvements with the National Council of Churches or the Commission on Christian Unity.¹¹ In

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ See, William L. Lumpkin, "The Need for Baptist Unity," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 16 (August 11, 1966), pp. 490-2; John W. Bradbury, "Unity, Union and Baptists," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 1 (January 13, 1966), pp. 12-14. Many conservative American Baptist churches have chosen to be listed in the records of the denomination as not affiliating with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. through the American Baptist Convention. See Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention 1966-67, pp. 487-8. The editor of Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (January, 1966), pp. 2-3, states: "The Consultation on Church Union (commonly referred to as COCU) stems from a sermon preached by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, on Dec. 4, 1960, in which he called for the development of plans for a new church 'truly catholic, truly evangelical and truly reformed.' Eventually representatives of the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodists and United Church of Christ (later joined by representatives of the Disciples and the Evangelical United Brethren) met in a series of sessions designed to explore both the nature and practicality of such a venture. In time certain features of the new church were agreed on, and on April 8, 1965, the consultation members voted to establish a commission consisting of one person from each participating church delegation to formulate an

order to foster this merger its supporters have organized "The Baptist Unity Movement,"¹² They contend that joining with the eleven million member Southern Baptist Convention would bring about a church union without compromising Baptist distinctives.¹³

¹¹ outline of a detailed plan for the consideration of the denominations involved. At the same time the consultation offered to invite non-participating denominations which had been represented at the sessions by observer-consultants, to elect full participation and appoint a member to the commission. For several years, Dr. Robert G. Torbet. . . and Dr. W. H. Porter have served as observer consultants for American Baptists."

¹² See, "Baptist Unity," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (April, 1966), p. 2.

¹³ Ibid., Lumkin, "The Need for Baptist Unity," pp. 490-2. Baptist distinctives were listed in the O.K. Armstrong amendment to the resolution on the Commission on Christian Unity made by the American Baptist Convention at the annual meeting held in Kansas City, Mo., May 11-15, 1966. See, Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention, 1966-67, p. 68. These distinctives, which the Armstrong amendment lists, are: "belief in the New Testament as a sufficient guide for faith and practice, the competency of the individual in matters of religion, believer's baptism by immersion for entry into the church, the symbolic understanding of the ordinances, the freedom of each local church to order its own life without control by an episcopacy, the advisory and cooperative natures of our associations and denominational organizations, and separation of church and state." Norman H. Maring, "That Armstrong Amendment," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 21 (October 20, 1966), pp. 646-8; claims that the language of this statement is ambiguous, represents a relatively recent development in Baptist thought and sets forth many elements which are held by many other denominations and therefore are not distinctly Baptist. Maring contends that American Baptists lack any clear means of self-identification.

Already many churches which have become upset by the so-called "liberalism" of the American Baptist Convention have become dually aligned with the Southern Baptists.¹⁴ These dual alignments would probably increase should the American Baptists become active participants in COCU. Furthermore, there are indications that the majority of American Baptists would prefer the program of evangelism of the Southern Baptists to that offered by their own convention.¹⁵

¹⁴ See, "Whither Bound?" The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 16 (August 11, 1966), p. 483. J. Herbert Gilmore, Jr., "Dual Alignment in the District of Columbia Baptist Convention," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 16 (August 11, 1966), pp. 492-4; "Baptist Unity," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 6 (June, 1966), p. 11.

¹⁵ Recently the North American Baptist Fellowship Committee of the Baptist World Alliance adopted a program called the Crusade of the Americas. This program, primarily developed by the Southern Baptists, would employ traditional methods of evangelism to win individuals to Christianity. See, "North American Baptist Fellowship," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 10 (May 19, 1966), p. 309. Since the Crusade of the Americas employed a type of evangelism which differed from the primary emphases of Morikawa's program and because it was dominated by Southern Baptist leadership, the General Council of the American Baptist Convention under guidance from the Division of Program Planning decided not to participate in the program. The excuse for non-participation was that the convention had a prior commitment to promote its new educational curriculum. At the annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention held in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 17-21, 1967, J. Lester Harnish (a former president of the denomination) moved that the convention reverse the decision of the General Council. The vote on Harnish's motion was 666 yes and 239 no. Because it requires a three-quarters vote of the convention to reverse a decision of the General Council, the motion failed. However, it is significant to note that 73%

On the other hand, a merger with the Southern Baptist Convention would alienate those Baptist churches which want to be part of the ecumenical movement.¹⁶ Some liberal churches have threatened to withdraw from denominational affiliation or seek dual alignment with the United Church of Christ should such a merger occur.¹⁷ Probably the Negro churches would find this relationship unacceptable because of the weak stand on civil rights which is taken by the Southern Baptist Convention. But most important, many American Baptists fear the strong control which the Southern Baptist Convention exercises over its member churches.¹⁸

¹⁵ of the representatives from local churches favored this Southern Baptist program of evangelism. Carl W. Tiller, the president of the American Baptist Convention stated "four state conventions and an uncounted number of city societies will cooperate" in the program in spite of the decision made by the General Council; See, "ABC and the Crusade," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 55, No. 8 (April 20, 1967), p. 248.

¹⁶ John E. Skoglund, "Unity, Union and the Church," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 8 (September, 1966), pp. 4-5. In this article Skoglund uses rhetorical questions to suggest that ecumenically oriented Baptists would find union with the Southern Baptists objectionable.

¹⁷ A discussion of these possibilities is set forth in the letters to the editor of Crusader. Particularly see, Vol. XXI, No. 5 (May, 1966), p. 11, Vol. XXI, No. 7 (July, August, 1966), p. 10. Also see, Kyle Haselden, "Baptist Ambivalence," The Christian Century, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 22 (June 1, 1966), p. 706.

¹⁸ Skoglund, "Unity, Union and the Church," pp. 4-5.

Lastly, there is the possibility that American Baptists could reverse the decision of the General Council and become active participants in COCU. The General Council, at their February 2, 1966 meeting, voted down a motion which would have put American Baptists into the Consultation on Church Union as full participants. The vote was 26-13.¹⁹ This decision against participation in COCU was reinforced by the Armstrong amendment at the 1966 meeting of the convention in Kansas City, Mo.²⁰ Yet, in spite of these

¹⁹ Edwin H. Tuller, the General Secretary of the American Baptist Convention, explains that the decision was made for many reasons. Among the reasons is that the mail he received on the issue clearly showed opposition to full participation. Of the letters received 564 favored continuation of the present observer-consultant status, 192 wanted full participation and 120 wanted no contact at all with the Consultation. Another decisive factor was the fact that if Baptists went into COCU they would have to be committed to the agreements already reached which included: (1) some form of episcopacy; (2) baptism of both infants and adults by various methods; (3) a minimum common liturgy; and (4) the probability of some form of a creedal statement. Thus, any attempt by Baptists to share their specific insights in these areas would be too late. See, "What 'No' to 'Full Participation' Really Means," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (March, 1966), p. 2. For a full description of the factors involved in the decision see, The Relationship of the American Baptist Convention to the Consultation on Church Union (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1966).

²⁰ See footnote 13. The Armstrong amendment has limited the leaders of the American Baptist Convention to discussing church union only if the stated Baptist distinctives can be maintained. Some have regarded this as a death blow to any hopes for American Baptists to participate in COCU. See Haselden, "Baptist Ambivalence," pp. 705-6. "The Editor Exegetes," Baptist Freedom, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (July, 1966), p. 2.

actions, there is still the possibility that American Baptists might change their stance.

The vote for the Armstrong amendment was very close (1,018 to 920). At the time of the vote only two-thirds of the delegates to the convention were present.²¹ Some observers contend that if the motion had been acted upon when the convention was meeting in the "liberal East" and rather than in the "conservative Middle West," it would not have passed.²² The very least that can be said is that within the American Baptist Convention there is strong sentiment opposing the kind of limitations on ecumenical discussions which the Armstrong amendment imposes. At another time and in another place there will be another vote on the issue and the result might be quite different.²³

²¹There were 3,365 delegates to the Convention and only 1,938 voted on the issue. See Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention, 1966-67, pp. 52, 57-8.

²²See, "Editorial Comment on the Convention," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 6 (June, 1966), p. 2.

²³Robert Lee, The Social Sources of Church Unity (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), explains that many social factors like the reduction of differences between the country and the city, the decline of sectionalism, the process of racial integration, the compressing of social classes, the diminishing of ethnic differences, the end of immigration and the growth of the mass culture have resulted in trends which influence the denominations to unify. If this thesis is correct, American Baptists will in time increasingly favor the ecumenical movement. In a few years, when the convention is held in some Eastern city there could be a vote which would reverse the present American Baptist

Within the American Baptist Convention there are many influential groups and persons who appear to favor COCU. At the American Baptist Theological Conference held July 2-8, 1966, at Green Lake, Wisconsin, theologians representing a cross section of Baptist opinions, voted 21 to 7 to join the Consultation on Church Union as full participants.²⁴ The conference was chaired by Robert T. Handy and was composed of Baptist seminary faculty members, college and university faculty members, missionaries, and some laymen. While the conference had no direct control over denominational policy its members made the following recommendation to American Baptist Churches:²⁵

Conscious of divided opinions within the ABC regarding the Consultation on Church Union and torn between a desire to follow our own consciences and a desire to defer to those who conscientiously hold other views, we nevertheless are persuaded that God wills a fuller visible expression of the unity of His church, and that such unity is necessary for fulfilling its

²³ position on COCU. Even the Southern Baptists are beginning to recognize that sociological factors may eventually force them to change their attitude toward church union. See, "Southern Baptists View Cooperation," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 55, No. 6 (March 23, 1967), p. 183.

²⁴ "Theological Conference Explores Church Union Issues; Recommends Full Participation in COCU by American Baptists," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 8 (September, 1966), p. 3.

²⁵ Ibid.

mission. If our special concerns are to be effectively registered, it is urgent that the convention reconsider full participation in the Consultation. This theological conference wishes to go on record as favoring such full participation as soon as possible.²⁶

Another influence for participation in COCU is the Commission on Christian Unity which was recently established by the General Council of the Convention.²⁷

Robert G. Torbet,²⁸ an outspoken supporter of COCU, was

²⁶ Ibid., For the report of the conference which was sent to Baptist Churches see Robert T. Handy, Baptists on Christian Unity: Reflections on the 1966 Invitational Theological Conference. A paper prepared for American Baptist Churches by the American Baptist Board of Education and Publication, Valley Forge, Pa., September, 1966 (in the files of the Board), (mimeographed).

²⁷ See, "General Council Establishes Commission on Christian Unity," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 6 (June, 1966), p. 4. Also, official records of this decision are available for inspection at the offices of the General Secretary of the American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa.

²⁸ See, "Excerpts from Speeches Delivered at the Convention in Kansas City," Crusader, Vol. XXI, No. 7 (July, August, 1966), p. 7; Robert G. Torbet, "Baptists in an Ecumenical Age," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 1 (January 13, 1966), pp. 6-7, "The Editor Exegetes," p. 2. It is interesting to note that the General Council on the one hand voted down full participation in COCU, yet on the other hand appointed one of the most outspoken leaders favoring full participation to be the executive secretary for the newly established Commission on Christian Unity. Thus, at most of the conferences dealing with church mergers the representative of the American Baptist Convention will not personally support the view which the General Council requires him to represent. There is some evidence that some members of the General Council voted against COCU primarily because they thought that the denomination's constituency was not yet ready for the move and it would therefore result in a loss of churches to the Convention. See "What 'No' to 'Full Participation' Really Means," p. 2; The Relationship of the American Baptist Convention to the Consultation on Church Union, pp. 2-6.

made the executive secretary of the commission. In spite of the limitations established on the commission by the Armstrong amendment it is likely that it will, under Torbet's direction, guide American Baptists to a more favorable disposition toward church union.

Torbet, aware that many conservatives fear this possibility, says, "We are not trying to use the Commission on Christian Unity as a backdoor into the Consultation on Church Union."²⁹ However, it will prove surprising if the commission under its present leadership does not encourage church union.

There are some who believe that some denominational organizations are encouraging church union by indirect methods. For instance, the trustees of the conservative Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary claim that the recommendations which the Board of Education and Publication recently made to American Baptist Seminaries were aimed at producing pastors who would be favorably disposed to church mergers.³⁰ The recommendations which they believed to be so designed stated that Baptist seminaries should seek:

²⁹"General Council Established Commission on Church Unity," p. 4.

³⁰"Eastern Seminary Reacts," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 54, No. 6 (March 24, 1966), p. 181.

. . .a rapid consolidation of Protestant theological education. . .and ever merging with other seminaries (Baptist or otherwise).³¹

They go on to suggest:

. . .that the presence of non-Baptists in the student body, on the faculty, on the Boards of Trustees, or in administration may strengthen the Seminary and does not necessarily militate against American Baptist identification.³²

There are promises of substantial financial support for seminaries "which meet the criteria of B.E.P."³³

Whether or not the Board of Education and Publication is deliberately fostering full participation in COCU is not clear, but undoubtedly following such recommendations would encourage ecumenical dispositions among Baptist Seminaries.

Other denominational organizations which have been cited as favoring COCU are the American Baptist Ministers and Missionaries-Benefit Board, and the American Baptist Minister's Council.³⁴ Recently, the Minis-

³¹ This recommendation was made at the Sept., 1965 meeting of the American Baptist Board of Education and Publication. See Yearbook of the American Baptist Convention, 1966-7, pp. 158ff, Seminary Strategy, A study paper prepared by the American Baptist Board of Education and Publication, Valley Forge, Pa., September 1965 (in the files of the Board, (mimeographed).

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Roger C. Palm, "Dilemma for American Baptist Ministers," The Watchman-Examiner, Vol. 55, No. 9 (May 4, 1967), p. 273.

sters Council issued The Revised Code of Ethics for American Baptist Ministers which some have regarded as a means to prepare Baptist clergymen for church union. One section of the code reads:

I will give attention, sympathy and support, whenever possible, to the larger fellowship of Christians beyond our American Baptist Convention, recognizing that my church is a part of the whole church of Jesus Christ in the world.³⁵

Some observers claim that this new statement is meant to encourage ecumenical activities. Also to be considered is the fact that if the convention should merge with other denominations, and if a particular minister should choose not to go along with the union, he would be violating another part of the new code which commits him to supporting "current practices of the denomination."³⁶

If a minister separates himself from the American Baptist Convention because the denomination becomes a full participant in COCU, he faces the possibility of losing his M & M benefits.³⁷ This would

³⁵ Copies of The Revised Code of Ethics for the American Baptist Ministers Council can be secured from the National offices of the organization which are located in Valley Forge, Pa.

³⁶ Palms, "Dilemma for American Baptist Ministers," p. 273.

³⁷ The American Baptist Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board is referred to simply as the M & M Board. The board provides a pension plan to which both the

mean that he would forego an investment of thousands of dollars which would have provided him with a retirement pension and a life insurance policy. Most American Baptist pastors have so much money invested in the M & M program that it would be difficult for them to break their denominational relationships, even over a matter as important as COCU.

Of the various courses which the American Baptist Convention could take, perhaps joining COCU is the most viable. On the one hand the liberals within the denomination would find this arrangement much to their liking. On the other hand the conservatives probably would refuse to join in this merger and, instead, would join the Southern Baptist Convention. In this way two groups which have found it difficult to cooperate with each other would be separated and each would be joined to another group with which its relationship would probably be more agreeable. The American Baptist Convention would cease to exist as a separate denomination, but the majority of its members would probably be content with their new affiliations. Already some American Baptist Churches have dually aligned with the United Church of Christ because they

³⁷ pastors and their churches contribute annually. Most American Baptist pastors are participants in the program.

have wanted to be actively a part of COCU.³⁸ Other churches, with a conservative orientation, have chosen to join the Southern Baptist Convention.³⁹ A decision to join COCU would only speed up this process.⁴⁰

³⁸ Skoglund, "Unity, Union and the Church," pp. 4-5.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

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